OUTLINES

OF THE

LITERARY HISTORY

OF

COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

BY

M. KATHERINE JACKSON

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.

1906

OUTLINES

OF THE

LITERARY HISTORY

OF

COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

BY

M. KATHERINE JACKSON

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.

1906

TO MY MOTHER

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PERIOD OF COLONIZATION 1

CHAPTER II.

ATTEMPTS IN POLITE LEARNING 26

CHAPTER III.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN 61

CHAPTER IV.

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY POETS 80

CHAPTER V.

PROSEMEN OF THE REVOLUTION 102

CHAPTER VI.

LATER VERSE AND PROSE WRITERS 143

CHAPTER I

PERIOD OF COLONIZATION

Penn, Early Life—Efforts at Colonization in New Jersey—Settlement of Pennsylvania—Character of the People—Basis of Government—Foundation of Schools—Early Schoolmasters—Work of Press—Bradford—Verse Descriptions of the Province—Frame, Holme—Church-Schism—Keith, Leeds, Pusey—Writings of Dickenson, Thomas, Pastorius and Kelpius—Summary.

WILLIAM PENN, destined to become the founder of a colony and the prudent leader of a people, was born in London in 1644. While a student at Oxford, he was stirred by the preaching of Fox,[1] and, because of his adherence to the Quaker, he was dismissed from the University. The handsome, polished youth was sent to France to study, to travel, and to mingle in fashionable society, not for the scholarship or culture he might receive, but that 'he might be freed from such intense religion.' In 1665, the London plague revived his spiritual fervor; and in 1667, after hearing Thomas Coe preach in Cork, he openly espoused Quakerism. In the same year, with Fox, Barclay, and Keith, he went through Holland, Switzerland, and Germany on a proselytizing tour. Penn spoke German, and thus he was able to establish intimate relations with many who were suffering from the religious and civil persecutions of the time, the

[1] George Fox (1624–1690), the founder of the Society of Friends, left relations and "broke off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young at the command of God in 1643." In 1647 he began the work of an itinerant preacher, the positive element in his teaching being that men ought to give earnest heed to the inner light. Notwithstanding many imprisonments, he secured a large following in England. Macaulay thought him a vulgar charlatan whom we have "no reason for placing morally or intellectually above Ludowick Muggleton or Joanna Southcote."

results of the Thirty Years' War. After this he had an opportunity of accepting a patent of land in America in lieu of money—some eighteen thousand pounds—due from the English government to his father, Admiral Penn.

This was not, however, Penn's first interest in colonization; his ideas on the subject had been tested in New Jersey seven years before. In 1675 Lord Berkeley sold half of this province, which he had received from the Duke of York, to two Quakers, John Fenwicke and Edward Byllinge. The latter, reduced in circumstances, took, as joint trustee, Penn, who wrote a constitution and encouraged the settlement. Thus he became familiar with the new lands and interested in their development. When the second half of the province, given by the Duke of York to Governor Carteret, was offered by his widow at auction, Penn, with eleven other Quakers, bought it on February 1, 1682, for £3400. In the same year they sold half of their interest to twelve other men[2] (Scotch, Irish, and English merchants) of varying religious and social ideas. With a constitution and Robert Barclay as Governor, they attempted colonization. Controversies over quit rents and titles, disagreements with New York because of Jersey's aspiration for self-government, attacks from the Indians, added to internal dissensions, caused East Jersey, after twenty years' endeavor to enforce a constitution, to give up the attempt. West Jersey had less difficulty, but fearing the future she united with East Jersey; and the two provinces on April 17, 1702, surrendered to Queen Anne all power of government, reserving only ownership of soil.

In his new field Penn saw a possibility of helping many people. In 1681 he sent three ships; in 1682 he brought over four more, with about one thousand people,—Dutch, Germans, Welsh, and English, and took formal possession of the

[2] *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* by H. L. Osgood, N. Y., 1904, Vol. 2, Ch. 8.

territory. There were some Swedes and Dutch already in the colony, from whom he purchased the site of Philadelphia. These remained good, loyal citizens. The German contingent, led by Pastorius, a very interesting man whom we shall consider later, settled at Germantown. These were a rugged mountain people, with uncouth manners and speech,[3] but with manifest zeal to serve God in their own innocent way. Many were unable to provide passage money, but so anxious were they to seek the newly found asylum, that they sold themselves for a term of years to the shipmaster, who leased them to the colonists.

The English Quakers, making one third of the province and one half of the city, came from the plebeian classes, and included scarcely one of the gentry and but few of the educated. Since these were for forty years in the majority, they set the standards for the whole province. They resembled the Puritans in emphasizing religious practices, yet their ideas of worship were different. They had their ministers, but these were busied with other things than composing painful elegies, or preaching the terrors of a future damnation, and we must expect different results from these patient men who waited always for the leading of the Spirit. Perhaps the Quakers were as laborious and prim as the Puritans, but they were milder and more humanitarian. Education was to them not necessary for an understanding of the Scriptures, but rather a hindrance, and while there were some trained minds among them, the proportion was less than in New England.[4] True, there were Logan, Governors Lloyd and Hamilton, Pastorius,—a master of seven languages,—Kelpius, "the learned mystic of

[3] This dialect is a descendant of the Pfälzisch or the Rhine Frankish. See the *Story of the Pennsylvania Germans* by William Beidelman, Easton, Pa., 1898.

[4] *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century.* H. L. Osgood, N. Y., 1904, Vol. 2, Ch. 11.

Wissahickon," Keith, Makin, teacher and author, and Taylor, a Greek and Hebrew scholar; but the masses could barely read and write. Proud describes them as "mostly sober, industrial people of low or moderate fortunes, but of universal good reputation and character."[5]

With a people of such ideas Penn filled his colony, and he based his first law on righteousness and justice. Every man who believed in the existence of a Deity, owned fifty acres of land costing a penny an acre, and tilled twenty of the same, was a freeman and entitled to Penn's kindness and charity.[6] This variety of peoples and liberality of doctrine contributed greatly to the growth and prosperity of a cosmopolitan city, where a man might belong to any or no sect, and yet be regarded as a good citizen.

The growth of population was fairly rapid. In 1681, there were ten rude houses in the wilderness, while in 1683 there were thirty houses on streets carefully laid out, and

[5] *History of Pennsylvania,* Vol. 1, p. 217.

[6] These laws are more tolerant than those of any colony in New England. The disputed "Blue Laws" of Connecticut were most severe, but they probably never existed except in the mind of the Rev. Samuel Peters. By them no food or lodging could be given a Quaker or other heretic; no walking on the Sabbath, except to or from meeting was permitted; no mother could kiss her child or care for her house on this day; at no time could they make minced pies, dance, play cards or play on a musical instrument, except a trumpet, jew's-harp or drum.

See *History of the Colony of New Haven,* by E. E. Atwater, New Haven, 1881.

A *General History of Connecticut* by Rev. Samuel Peters, London, 1781.

Blue Laws, True and False, by J. H. Trumbull, Hartford, 1876.

Virginia inflicted the torture of a bodkin through the tongue for swearing, a ducking for slander, and a fine of fifty pounds of tobacco for absence from church. Statute promulgated by Sir Thomas Gates, 1610.

Massachusetts, in 1637, imposed a fine of ten shillings for selling cakes or buns except for special occasions. See Mass. Records, 1631.

The Massachusetts law against the public use of tobacco was passed in 1632; that of Connecticut in 1647.

With all their Quaker simplicity, witchcraft was never believed in, even though Cotton Mather and his associates in 1692 were wildly pursuing the victims at Salem. On December 27, 1683, Penn was present at the only witch-trial ever held in the colonies of Pennsylvania, when the jury said the "accused was guilty of having the common fame of being a witch, but not guilty in manner and form as she stands indicted." (See *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania,* Vol. 1, p. 40.)

two hundred and fifty people engaged in a flourishing commerce.[7] The equable climate, fertile soil, and good situation, added to the toleration of belief and the equitable laws, made the location attractive to emigrants; and peace with the Indians,[8] which they enjoyed for over fifty years, made it possible for the colonists to produce a superabundance of commodities.

Penn in his Great Law had an article against many sports.[9] Chalkley, a leading missionary among them, denounced cards as a thing of evil consequence, drawing away the mind from heaven and heavenly things.[10] He argued that music and dancing had the same tendency and should be refrained from. Although the colonists started thus strictly, they made, because of their natural cheer and happiness, their passive and liberal attitude, a place for frivolous amusements far earlier than New England. Before 1740, Philadelphia had a dancing school, a public ball-room, a pack of hounds, and a race ground.

While it is true that the Quakers did not care for college or university training, thinking it ' fostered pride and magnified self,' they did approve of academic teaching for all the fied self,' they did approve of elementary teaching for all the work of pagans; French and Italian, frivolous themes of

[7] Philadelphia was laid out by Thomas Holme, a surveyor-general, sent over by Penn for this purpose. A portraiture of the city, the earliest map during Penn's dominion, was published by Andrew Sowle, 1683. A map of the improved part of the province of Pennsylvania, showing the settled portions, was published by Holme in 1687-8.

[8] In October, 1682, William Penn made an important treaty of peace and friendship with representatives of the Delawares, Mingoes, and other Susquehanna tribes of Indians, on the banks of the Delaware, at Shackamaxon, under a great elm. This gave Benjamin West the basis for one of his best pictures, now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

[9] Article 28 of The Great Law, December 7, 1682, reads: " Whoever shall introduce into this province or frequent such rude and riotous sports and practises as prizes, stage-plays, masks, revels, bull-baits, cock fighting and such like, shall be reputed and fined as breakers of the peace and suffer at least ten days' imprisonment at hard labour in the house of correction or forfeit twenty shillings." See Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania,* Vol. 1, p. 625.

[10] See *Journal* of Thomas Chalkley, p. 4. 1751.

worldly minds. The founder early established two agencies which were to mould the next generation,—a school and a printing press. A meeting of the Council considered the great necessity of a school master for the instruction and sober education of the youth, and sent for Enoch Flower, a former Wiltshireman, who had been a teacher for twenty years in England. In 1683 he advertised these terms for a school beginning on the 26th of the 10th month: "To learn to read English, 4s by ye Quarter, to learn to read & write 6s by ye Quarter, to learn to read, Write & cast accts 8s by ye Quarter; for Boarding a Scholar, that is to say, dyet, washing, Lodging, and Schooling, Tenn pounds for one whole year."

Six years later a public school was established[11] and was 'forever thereafter to consist of fifteen discreet and religious persons of the people called Quakers, by the name of Overseers of the Public School, founded in Philadelphia at the request, cost, and charges of the people called Quakers.'[12] The first master was George Keith, of whom Bishop Burnet,[13] a fellow student at Aberdeen, says, "Keith was the most learned man ever in the Quaker sect, well versed both in the Oriental tongues, in philosophy and mathematics." His income from the school was to be fifty pounds, a house for his family, a school house, and any school profits. After

[11] Sir William Berkeley, royal governor of Virginia, 1641–1651, 1660–1676, said: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing and I hope we shall not have these hundred years."

Massachusetts (see Records 13, 2, 1635) in a general meeting provided "that our brother, Philemon Pomont, shall be intreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nourishing of children with us."

The first educational order from the General Court is dated 1642, although Harvard College was founded in 1636.

[12] See *Journal of Provincial Council*, or Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 1, p. 345; Preamble of the Charter of 1701.

[13] See *History of His Own Times* by Bishop Burnet, London, 1724–34, Vol. 2, p. 248. Keith was probably the author of the English translation (1674) of Pocock's *Philosophus Autodidactus*, from which Barclay obtained the story of Hai Ebn Yokdan (Apology, prop. V, VI, § 27). See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

two years, the salary was to be increased to one hundred and twenty pounds. But one year in this quiet position was enough for Keith, and we shall hear of him again as involving the peaceful society in dire perplexities.

Thomas Makin (1665–1733), the chief usher of the school, clerk of the Provincial Council, and a writer of Latin verse, followed Keith as master. His *Descriptio Pennsylvaniæ*, 1729, contains a notice of the school:

> "Hic in gymnasiis linguæ docentur et artes
> Ingeniæ multis doctor et ipse fui,
> Una schola his alias etiam supereminet omnes,
> Romano et Græco quæ docet ori loqui."

He wrote an *Encomium Pennsylvaniæ* in 1678, which with the former production was found in manuscript along with the papers of James Logan, for whom they were composed. In both, Makin dwells on the fertility of the land, the excellence of the government, the presence of churches, etc., but his most hearty delight is in the peacefulness of his life. His fondness for nature is evinced in the following lines:[14]

> "'Tis here the mocking bird extends his throat,
> And imitates the birds of ev'ry note;
> 'Tis here the smallest of the feather'd train,
> The humming bird, frequents the flow'ry plain.
> Its motion quick seems to elude the eye;
> It now a bird appears, and now a fly."

The last notice we have of this poet is found in the Pennsylvania Gazette, of November 28, 1733, where we read, "On Monday evening last Mr. Thomas Makin fell off a wharf into the Delaware, and before he could be taken out again, was drowned. He was an ancient man, and formerly

[14] See Proud's *History of Pennsylvania.*

lived very well in this city, teaching a considerable school; but of late years, was reduced to extreme poverty."

On Penn's first visit he brought with him William Bradford of Leicester (1658–1752), an apprentice to the Quaker printer, Andrew Sowles, in whose office he had known George Fox. Fox introduced Bradford to Thomas Lloyd and the colonists, as "a sober young man, a civil young man, convinced of the Truth." In 1685 Bradford returned to England for his wife, a daughter of Sowles, and also for a press, which was set up at Kensington near the famous Treaty Tree.[15] In Pennsylvania, it was four years after the settlement, in Massachusetts eighteen years, in New York seventy-three, before a printing-press was set up. In Virginia, the press of 1681 was condemned and only revived in 1729. This of Philadelphia was the first press south of New England, the third in the colonies, and it did the work for the people of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The first work issued from the new press was the *Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense*[16] for 1686, by Samuel Atkins,[17] student in mathematics and astrology. The first tract issued was *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey,* by Thomas Budd, 1686. Only recently has it been discovered that this was from the Bradford press.[18]

[15] See page 5.

[16] An original copy is in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[17] Knowing of the inability of the people to keep account of the days, the author wrote: "I was really troubled, and did design, according to that small knowledge that I had, to pleasure these my Countrymen with that which they wanted." The printer added an explanation: "Hereby understand that after great Charge and Trouble, I have brought that great Art and Mystery of Printing into this part of America . . . for being lately come hither, my Materials were Misplaced, and out of order, whereupon I was forced to use Figures and Letters of various sizes." Beginning with January, the eleventh month, he has the calendar, followed by remarks on weather, tides, a table of the kings of England and a few generalities. The first almanac printed in America, was in Cambridge, 1639, by Stephen Daye; the first humorous one was by John Gully, Saybrook, Connecticut, 1687.

[18] See Hildebrun's *Pennsylvania Press and Authors,* Vol. 1, p. 4. 1885.

Budd was the son of a parish clergyman in Somersetshire, who died in jail rather than take the oath of conformity prescribed by statute. He joined the Friends and came to New Jersey in 1678. He was a man of importance, a member of the council and a commissioner for the purchasing of land. After his unfortunate connection with Keith, of which we shall hear later, he joined the Baptists and died in Philadelphia in 1697–8. The book gives a description of the country, its produce and commodities. His great zeal for the establishment of a public school system had immediate effect, whereas his banking scheme lay unused by America for some years.[19] This observation of social and economic conditions recalls the achievements of William Paterson, who founded the Bank of England in 1694, and of Defoe, whose *Essay on Projects,* published in 1698 but written sooner, contained suggestions for a national bank.

In 1687 Penn wrote and published *The Excellent Privilege of Liberty and Property,* containing an abstract of the Patent granted him by the King and the Charter given by Penn to the inhabitants. The only other work of his that concerns us, *The Description of Pennsylvania,* written to induce emigration, was published in London in 1683. It contained a detailed account of the country, the scheme of government, the advantages and opportunities for emigrants, and is interesting reading today. Curiously enough, Penn's religious works were not printed in America until after his death; five hundred copies of the *Key* in 1717, were followed by the *Advice to His Children* in 1720.

As is usual in a recently opened country, the first message sent by the colonists to the fatherland emphasized the advantages offered by their commonwealth. Aside from the

[19] For the movement in New England in 1700 see Weeden's *Economic History of New England,* Vol. 1, pp. 328 ff.

annalistic and topographical productions, two poems in English were of this nature: first, *A Short Description of Pennsylvania,* or *A Relation of what Things are known, enjoyed and like to be Discovered in said Province,* by Richard Frame, 1692.[20] The poet described the attractions of the land and the progress of the people; and in the latter connection, mentioned, as a proof of their prosperity,[21] the paper-mill which Bradford and Rittenhouse[22] established in 1690 near Philadelphia on the Wissahickon. Comparing the native land and the wilderness, he wrote:

> " No doubt but you will like this Country well,
> We that did leave our Country thought it strange
> That ever we should make so good exchange."

The second poem, longer and better, entitled *A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania, 1686,* was by Judge John Holme. This was not published until 1847.[23] The author was born in England and came to Pennsylvania in 1685. He was a justice of the County Court and a city magistrate, and is remembered as having sat upon the bench when William Bradford was tried for publishing the pamphlets of George Keith. In the introduction to his poem, Judge Holme grew enthusiastic and exclaimed that a

[20] One hundred and eighteen copies of Frame's poem were reprinted by S. J. Hamilton, with an introduction by H. G. Jones, in 1867. An address by J. W. Wallace at the Bradford anniversary, New York, 1863, contains the poem, copied from *The Sunday Dispatch,* Philadelphia, for August 26, 1862.

[21] Massachusetts had a paper mill in 1728 at Dorcester, managed by Daniel Henchman, with aid from the General Court. *History of Dorcester,* p. 612. Thomas, *History of Printing,* Vol. 1, p. 25.

[22] Rittenhouse, a Mennonite preacher, was born in the Principality of Broich, Holland, 1644. Samuel Carpenter, Robert Turner, Wiillam Bradford, and K. Rittenhouse continued the paper mill until 1700, when a freshet swept it away. Penn at once wrote a letter in its behalf and saw it reopened. Supplies were sent to New York to William Bradford; A. S. Bradford used this paper for the *Mercury,* in which the watermark, K.R., can be seen. The scheme proved so remunerative that Rittenhouse's brother-in-law, William DeWees, started a second, in 1710.

[23] See *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. 17, p. 3; and *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* Vol. 1, No. 13, p. 72.

stranger after reading his description would be amazed as was the Queen of Sheba, on her visit to Solomon. Concerning Philadelphia, he remarked:

> " Strangers do wonder and some say,—
> What mean these Quakers thus to raise
> These stately fabrics to their praise?
> Since we well know and understand
> They were in prison trodden down
> And can they now build such a town?"

It is curious to note that after Budd's *Good Order* and Penn's *Liberty and Property,* the first reprint was *The Temple of Wisdom,* in two parts. The first part was a philosophical treatise by Daniel Leeds with a fragment of an English Primer; the second was made up of *Abuses Stript and Whipt* by George Wither,[24] *Poems* by Francis Quarles[25] and *Essays* by Francis Bacon.

The fact that these few works did not demand much labor nor return much compensation, caused the press to be inactive. A religious controversy gave it a real impetus. George Keith, the first head of the Friends' School, now a public preacher, accused the magistrates of spiritual lukewarmness and denounced them for executing the law upon malefactors, saying that no true Quaker would draw a sword for the sake of justice. The elders, considering him turbulent and over-bearing, denied him the right of speaking or attending their meetings. Thus debarred, he sought the

[24] George Wither (1588–1667) may have appealed to the Quakers because of his misfortunes in prison and his loss of property, as well as for any qualities in the satire. *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613), which sent him to the Marshalsea prison, contained many things nearest the Quaker heart, *e. g.,* the attacks on the follies and abuses of society.

[25] Francis Quarles (1592–1644) published among other things a collection of *Divine Poems* in 1630 and *Divine Fancies,* in 1632. This verse, made up of " exemplary " wisdom in a quaint, epigrammatic form, appealed to the Quakers. In 1638 he sent John Winthrop and John Cotton metrical versions of six psalms (numbers 16, 25, 51, 88, 113 and 137), printed in the *Whole Book of Psalms;* Boston, 1640.

press, and Bradford issued tracts for him. John McComb distributed two or three of these tracts. However tolerant the Quakers were of other sects, they wanted no heresy in their own fold, and set out to check it. The main evidence against Bradford and McComb, when they were arrested on a warrant of five magistrates, was a case of Bradford's types, which were brought into court. A juryman attempting to read them and disturbed at having to go backwards, dropped the types from the frame. Thus the testimony vanished. This was the first effort to check the liberty of the press, and although both men were released, Bradford felt no inclination to remain in the city. His name was not lost to Philadelphia printing, however, for in 1712, he returned and established a press for his son, which was continued by a grandson, a great-grandson and two great-great-grandsons until 1825.

The religious war was opened in earnest; on the side of the Quakers were Caleb Pusey, Samuel Jennings, and Thomas Chalkley; against them with Keith went Evans, Budd, and Leeds. In conjunction, Keith and Budd published such treatises as *A Just Rebuke to several Calumnies Lyes and Slanders Reported against T. Budd; False Judgments Reprehended against Geo. Keith and his faithful Friends;* and the *Plea of the innocent against the False Judgment of the Guilty.* These pamphlets exasperated the people and resulted in the arrest, trial, fine, and expulsion from the colony of the two authors. They made an unsuccessful effort to get reinstated at the Yearly Meeting in London, after which the former went into the English church, the latter into the Baptist.[26] Keith was a man of considerable culture. Aside from many tracts and letters, he published a

[26] A *Modest Account from Pennsylvania of the principal differences in point of doctrine between George Keith and those of the people called Quakers,* by Caleb Pusey, London, 1696.

New Theory of Longitude (1709), and a *Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck.*[27]

A follower of Keith's published from the New York press a tract, the title of which is significant of its contents, *A Trumpet sounded out of the Wilderness of America, which may serve as a Warning to the Government and People of England to beware of Quakerism; wherein is shown how in Pennsylvania and there away, where they have the government in their own hands, they hire and encourage men to fight and how they persecute, fine and imprison and take away goods for conscience sake.*—Daniel Leeds.[28]

The opposition literature was published by Jansen, who learned his art in Holland and by chance came over in 1698 on the same ship with the new press.[29] He continued printing until 1705, the year of his death, although he had only a meagre knowledge of his calling. The English Quakers were aroused by this spiritual disturbance and encouraged some missionary zeal. Thomas Chalkley "found himself engaged in the love of the gospel to visit friends in America" in January, 1698. After "several good and open meetings," he found himself "clear of America" and went home. He returned, however, in later years, and continued preaching until his death.

The anti-Keithian pamphlets were manifold and in some cases bore amusing titles. William Davis, an Oxford student

[27] Descriptions of travel were not unusual. The *Journal* of Madam Sarah Kemble Knight from Boston to New Haven and New York in 1704 (New York, 1825); *A Two Year Journal in New York,* by Charles Wooley, 1678–80; London, 1701.

[28] A very modest almanack for 1687 was made by this student in agriculture. It is on one sheet of paper about 15 x 20 inches, with a calendar of five columns, dates of the courts and fairs, short rules in husbandry, three proverbs, and a rhyme of six lines. The original broadside is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[29] See Records of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 29th of 1 mo., 1696. It was used by Jacob Taylor, 1706–1712, but given away when A. S. Bradford came.

and recognized preacher, published *Jesus, the Crucified Man,* in which he disrobed Keith. Caleb Pusey, with *Satan's Harbinger Encountered, His False News of a Trumpet Detected, His Crooked Ways in the Wilderness laid open to the view of the Impartial and Judicious,* attempted to silence Leeds. With *G. K. Once More Brought to the Test and proved a Prevaricator,* he tried to prove that the spirit of Railing Shimei had entered into Keith. Thomas Maule wounded the Keithian cause by a pamphlet *For the Service of Truth by Philalethes or Lover of Truth.* Samuel Jennings, acting Governor from 1680 to 1683, the man whom Budd had called "presumptuous and insolent,"[30] defended himself in his *State of the Case.* Edward Pennington (1667–1711), a half brother by marriage to Penn, and a relative of the noted English Quaker, Isaac Pennington, wrote in 1695 *The Discoverer Discovered, Rabshakeh Rebuked,* and in 1696 a *Modest Detection of G. K.'s Vindication.* There appeared anonymously in 1693, a set of verses, entitled *A Paraphrastical Exposition on a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to his Friend in Boston, concerning a Certain Person who compared Himself with Mordecai.* It was written by a seceding Christian Quaker, but because of its marked inferiority has never been assigned to any one.

And so it continued, back and forth, until the London Yearly Meeting endorsed the Testimony of the American brethren and refused to reinstate Keith. Probably the pious Friends felt fully justified for such zeal in upholding their principles, when they heard how Keith said at his death, "I wish I had died when I was a Quaker; for then I am sure it would have been well with my soul." However worthless such a controversy may seem to us, for at least ten years it engrossed the minds of the colonists, kept the press busy and supplied the people with reading matter.

[30] See Proud's *History of Pennsylvania,* Vol. I, p. 373.

Their zeal is not a matter of wonder, when we know that numbers of leading families were drawn away by Keith and became known as Christian Quakers. After Keith deserted his new organization they were gradually won back, and by 1712 the sermons had more or less lost their controversial tone.[31]

Aside from the sermons, the first work printed by Jansen that interests us is *God's Protecting Providence, Man's Surest Help and Defence, in the times of the greatest difficulty and most Imminent danger; Evidenced in the Remarkable Deliverance of Robt. Barrow with divers Persons, From the devouring Waves of the Sea, amongst which they Suffered shipwreck. And also From the more cruelly devouring jawes of the inhuman Cannibals of Florida. Faithfully related by one of the persons concerned therein, . . . Jonathan Dickenson,* 1699.[32] The popularity of this book can be imagined when we realize that it was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1735, 1751, 1868; in New York in 1803; in Burlington, N. J., 1811; that seven editions appeared in London before 1790; that a Dutch translation with plates and map was issued at Leyden in 1700; a German by Sower of Germantown in 1756, and one at Frankfort and Leipsic in 1774. This was the most popular of the many Indian narratives except that of Mrs. Rowlandson,[33] of which there were twenty-five editions between 1682 and 1883.

This Dickenson, a Quaker and a native of Jamaica, was

[31] Religious disputes were in the air. Massachusetts had been thus occupied since her declaration against religious toleration, 1637. Roger Williams, with his *Bloody Tenent of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience* was answered by John Cotton in *The Bloody Tenent Washed and Made White,* etc. The most noteworthy contribution to the cause of intolerance was Nathaniel Ward's *Simple Cobbler of Agawam,* London, 1647. After this trouble, controversies with Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers followed. George Keith found the church of New England untrue and boldly denounced it. James Allen and Increase Mather hotly defended it.

[32] The original manuscript is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[33] See page 17.

coming with his family to Philadelphia when the misfortunes described in his book were experienced. Shipwrecked on the Florida coast, where they were tortured by the Indians, the party were rescued, clothed and cared for by the Spanish Governor of St. Augustine, who sent them to Carolina and thence to Philadelphia. There were twenty-two people beside the author's own family. Barrow, a former missionary, "the Spirit of God requiring him to come over into these parts to preach the Gospel," was returning from the West Indies. He was prostrated, and, on arriving in Philadelphia after hardships of months, he was carried to the house of Samuel Carpenter,[34] where he lived four or five days,—long enough to inquire concerning Keith's church and to rejoice in its failure.

Dickenson feared men would regard his stories as incredible, to avoid which he said of himself: "The writer is a man well known in this town, of good credit and repute, on whose fidelity and veracity, those who have any knowledge of him will readily rely, without suspecting fallacy." This must have been true, for after settling in Philadelphia he became a successful merchant and was chosen by the people for the positions of alderman, mayor, speaker of the Assembly, member of the Governor's Council, Master in Chancery and Justice of the Supreme Court.[34 *]

This quaintly interesting and pathetic narrative contains vivid pictures reminding one of the lives of the mediæval saints, and it deeply affected a people whose sympathies were readily awakened. The following is a good illustrative passage: the company sitting around on their chests, boxes and trunks, were surrounded by the Indians, "but we stirred

[34] Samuel Carpenter, a friend of Isaac Norris, is mentioned in a letter from James Logan to Penn as "one of the most excellent of men."

[34 *] Dickenson, Gabriel Thomas and a few other early Pennsylvania writers receive cursory treatment in Tyler's *History of American Literature*, II, 228 *seq.*

nor moved not, but sat all or most of us, very calm, and still, and some of us in a good frame of Spirit, being freely given up to the will of God. . . . Whilst we were thus sitting as a People almost unconcerned these bloody minded creatures placed themselves each behind one, and they all had their Arms extended, with their Knives in their Hands, ready to execute their bloody Design, some taking hold of us by the Heads, with their Knees set against our Shoulders, and in this Posture they seemed to wait for the *Cassekey* to begin; They were high in Words, which we understood not; but on a sudden, it pleased the Lord to work wonderfully for our Preservation, and instantly all these Savage-men were struck Dumb, and like Men amazed, . . . their countenances fell and they looked like another People."[35]

This suggests *A Voyage to Virginia,* by Col. Henry Norwood (in Force's *Tracts,* 4 volumes, Washington, 1836–1846), who in 1649 started from London in a sailing vessel. When shipwrecked near the James river the party was cared for by the Indians until their friends from Virginia rescued them. Of more adventurous nature is *A Narrative of the Captivity, Sufferings and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson,* London and Boston, 1682. She was taken prisoner and received barbarous treatment for many weeks. This story is sensationally but appealingly told, and has been reprinted by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society.

We turn from Dickenson's book to a work of real charm, written by an emigrant who lived in Pennsylvania from 1681 to 1696. Gabriel Thomas had come over in the first shipload, in time to see "the first cellar when it was digging for the use of our Governors." His volume is entitled *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of*

[35] Dickenson's Narrative . . . page 10.

Pennsylvania,—and of West New Jersey in America (London, 1698).[36] It was printed in London because there was no press in Philadelphia from 1693 to 1698; and, intending to return home, Thomas preferred to carry it with him in manuscript to sending it to another colony. While the descriptions appear extravagant, he took care to give only such details as he said he had seen. In the Dedication, we realize his enthusiasm for his subject: "I desire Thee to excuse me for addressing Thee, such a Plain and Peasant like Piece; yet however homely or coarse it may appear, Thou wilt find here a true and genuine Description of the (once) obscure, tho' (now) glorious Place." The book possesses many literary qualities, ease, simplicity, and an occasional poetic touch that is felicitous. The title page announced that the author would describe "the richness of the Soil, the Sweetness of the Situation, the Wholesomeness of the Air, the prodigious Encrease of Corn," etc.

Some passages must have excited wonder—e. g., "For tho' this Country has made little Noise in Story, or taken up but small room in Maps, yet thus much with great Justice may be said of it, that notwithstanding the Difficulties and Inconvenience the First English Colonies met with before

[36] Thomas's tract belongs to a class of writings much cultivated by the colonists. Well-known examples are:

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia, by Thomas Hariot, London, 1588.

Newes from Virginia . . . Captain John Smith, London, 1608.

The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the summer Isles, Captain John Smith, 1624.

Relatio Itineris in Maryland, 1635–8 . . . by Father Andrew White . . . edited by Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, Baltimore, 1847.

A character of the province of Maryland, in four parts; also a treatise on Indians . . . by George Alsop, 1666.

A Brief Description of New York . . . Daniel Denton, London, 1670.

A Description of the Province and City of New York, 1695, by Rev. John Miller, found and published in London, 1843.

Good News from New England, Edward Winslow, London, 1622.

Mourt's Relation, London, 1622.

Newes from New England . . . Thomas Lechford, London, 1642.

they were well settled there, yet the mighty Improvements, Additions and Advantages that have been made lately there, are well worth communicating to the Publick." And again, besides telling of the many occupations, he says that "Men and women of all kinds can here get three times the Wages for their Labour they can in England or Wales." The liberal professions were not so encouraged by him. "Of lawyers and physicians, I shall say nothing, because the country is very peaceable and healthy; long may it continue so, and never have occasion for the tongue of the one or the pen of the other, both equally destructive to men's estates and lives; besides, forsooth, they, hangman like, have a license to murder and make mischief." His idealization of the advantages is shown in his conception of the children, who, he says, "are well-favored and Beautiful to behold; being in the general, observed to be better Natured, Milder and more tender-Hearted than those in England." He refers in no way to any literary efforts, and since he uses one sentence each for the schools and the cookshops, they were presumably equally enjoyed by him. "In the said City are several good Schools of Learning for Youth, in order to the attainments of Arts and Sciences, as also Reading, Writing, etc. Here is to be had in any Day in the Week, Tarts, Pies, Cakes, also Cookshops, both Roasting and Boyling. Happy Blessings, for which we owe the highest Gratitude to our Plentiful Provider, the great Creator of Heaven and Earth."

Of all this first group, the most erudite scholar was the leader of the Germans, better known today because of Whittier's[37] tribute to him than through his own work. His life, his studies, his liberality of mind, and his literary efforts are in contrast with the restricted views of the typical learned

[37] Paul E. More discusses in glowing terms the value of Whittier's poem, *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim*, in the third volume of his *Shelburne Essays*, N. Y., 1905.

Puritan and with the excessive ease of the Cavalier. Francis Daniel Pastorius was born in Sommerhausen, September 21, 1651. At eleven years of age he was sent to Windsheim to study with Tobias Schumberg, a Hungarian, who knew no German and addressed his pupils in Latin. At seventeen he entered the University of Altorf, which he left to study law at Strasburg, Basle, Jena and Ratisbon, where he added a practical knowledge of international polity. Having passed the examinations, he read his inaugural thesis and received the degree of Doctor of Law at Nuremberg in 1676.[38]

Following his graduation, he became a law lecturer at Frankfort and interested himself in the teachings of Dr. Spener, [39] an enthusiastic Pietist, who secured for him a position as tutor to Johann Bonaventura von Rodeck. Together they traveled through France, Holland, Switzerland and England, where Pastorius met Penn and was converted to his doctrines. On returning home, many reports concerning Pennsylvania made him desirous of verifying them, and after obtaining his father's consent, he conducted thither his family and a small group of friends, in June, 1683. Thomas Lloyd, afterwards Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, happened to be on the same vessel, and these two, by means of their Latin conversations, became intimate friends. The Frankfurt Land Company, of which Pastorius was the head, procured from Penn twenty-five thousand acres of land, between the Schuylkill and the Delaware rivers. His friendship with

[38] The original and only known copy of this Latin thesis, *Disputatio inauguratio de rasura documentorum,* is in the library of Governor S. W. Pennypacker, of Pennsylvania.

[39] Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), educated at the University of Strasburg, was a distinguished theologian in Frankfurt and Berlin and founder of the University of Halle, 1691. Although the Father of the Pietists, he had few of the errors and none of the extravagances of the sect. He did not advocate the quietistic and semi-separatist practices; his only points of departure from the orthodox Lutheran faith were the requirement of regeneration and the expectation of the conversion of the Jews and the fall of the Papacy as preceding the final triumph of the church.

Penn is attested by the statement that Pastorius had an engagement to dine with the Proprietor twice every week. For twenty years he taught in the city, in which connection he compiled a school primer[40] for use in his and the Friends' schools. He kept the records of the court, was bailiff of the borough, county judge and member of the Assembly; wrote leases, mortgages, deeds, marriage certificates, wills, letters and translations. For a letter Pastorius charged four pence, for a will two or three shillings, for a deed on parchment seven to nine shillings.

At the laying out of Germantown, this scribe opened the record of the conveyances of lands, the "Germantown Grund- und Lager-Buch," with a Latin prologue, which has been translated by Whittier in the ode beginning, "Hail to Posterity." *The Geographical Description of Pennsylvania,* a scholarly pamphlet containing letters to his father, Penn's charter, laws and plan of colonization, remarks on the productions, inhabitants, and German society to be met with, was published in German at Frankfurt-on-the-Main in 1700.[41] His familiarity with Greek, Latin, German, Dutch, French, English, Italian and Spanish is shown in his monumental work of one thousand large pages, "*Hive Beestock,*" or "*Rusca Apium.*"[42]

Professor Learned calls this the "Magna Charta" of German culture in colonial America. Pastorius saw the danger of the decrease of learning, and hoping to avoid

[40] The Minutes of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 1701, show the purchase of a large number of these primers,—the first original school book printed in Pennsylvania.

[41] It was translated from the original German by Lewis H. Weiss and published in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* Vol. 4, pp. 2 ff., 1850.

[42] The loyalty of the German family tradition has been evinced in the care taken of this manuscript. Pastorius desired that it should be kept by the nearest male descendant within ten miles of Germantown. It has never been out of the family or the limits prescribed. The present owner is Mr. Daniel Pastorius Bruner, Germantown, Pa. It was published by Professor M. P. Learned in *Americana Germanica,* 1899, Vols. 1 and 2.

having his sons grow up to be ignorant men, collected this thesaurus, in eight tongues. He included all things he thought it well for them to know,—proverbs and long strings of verses in German, Latin or English, alternating with literary reviews, political discussions and moral or æsthetic expositions. He describes his purpose as follows: "For the better learning of the English and that my sons might hereafter have some of their Father's Steps, thereby to be guided to the same Dilligence and Assiduity of Picking the Best out of good Writing, I endeavored at Spare times to make this present Hive on a Quire of fine Paper, which a Friend of mine (Jacob Tellner) departing for Europe, did give me; And when all over filled up with honey combs, I was Constrained to enlarge my Hive with more courser, homely or homespun Stuff of this Country Product. . . . As for my performance herein, I could heartily wish it might prove to all honest people's good liking." He thought the study of this would keep his children from total darkness, for, after urging them to read it often, he added: "If you should not get much of the Latin, nevertheless read ye that English part oftentimes over and over and over. And I assure you that *Semper aliquid hærebit.* For the Droppings of the house-eaves in time make a hole in a hard stone. *Non vi sed sæpe cadendo,* and it is very bad cloath that by often dipping, will take no colour."

Much of the poetry is devoted to the pleasure of gardening, descriptions of flowers and the care of bees. His ludicrous sense for versification can be seen in this passage:

"Omnibus amissis heu! Chartis Codicibusque,
Hic vobis esto Bibliotheca Liber
Dear Children! Come and look
Often in your Father's book;
Not only look, but understand,

For Learning's more than house and land.
And whatever you do find
That should not be left behind,
Treasure up the same in Mind.
Putt the best in your Brest,
Tantum scimus, quantum memoria tenemus."

The institution of slavery called forth his earnest opposition. When Massachusetts was dealing in negroes and selling Indians and Quakers to the Barbadoes,[43] Pastorius drew up a memorial against all such traffic. It was adopted by the Germantown Friends, sent to the Monthly Meeting and thence to the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, 1688. This seems to have been the first protest against negro slavery made by an American religious body,[44] a fact which influenced Whittier, in 1872, to write his poem, *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim,* in which he said he attempted to give "a simple picture of a noteworthy man" in his rural home.

Seven of Pastorius's works were printed and forty-three philosophical reflections on theological, medical and legal subjects were left in manuscript. His *Lives of the Saints,* dedicated to Professor Schurmburg, his teacher, was published in 1690.

Another of these German leaders was John Kelpius (1670–1708), of whom Whittier said:[45]

[43] An order of the Massachusetts court, May 11, 1659, concerning Daniel and Provided Southwick, empowered the treasurer "to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia and Barbadoes." See Hazard's *Annals,* Vol. 2, p. 163.

[44] The original document was discovered in 1844 and published by Nathan Kite in *The Friend,* Vol. 18, No. 16. See Whittier's *Introduction to the Pennsylvania Pilgrim.*

Samuel Sewall in 1700 printed a short tract on slavery as an economic question. "These Ethiopians, as black as they are, seeing they are the sons and daughters of the First Adam, the Brethren and Sisters of the Last Adam, and the offspring of God; They ought to be treated with a Respect agreeable." Weeden's *Economic History of New England,* Vol. 1, p. 429.

[45] Whittier's *Pennsylvania Pilgrim.*

" Painful Kelpius from his hermit den
By Wissahickon, maddest of good men."[46]

He was born in Siebenbürgen, Transylvania, and educated at the University of Helmstadt under John Jacob Fabricius. Early he became a follower of Spener, the Pietist. At twenty-one he brought to Philadelphia a band of forty people[47] and obtained from Pastorius a grant of land on the Wissahickon. He occupied an artificially constructed cavern, and for ten years taught the children and preached to the older members of the " Society of the Women in the Wilderness." The Journal,[48] begun during the voyage across the Atlantic, is written for the most part in Latin and German, with a few pages in English, and occasional phrases in Hebrew and Greek. A letter to Mr. Steven Monfort in Long Island, December 11, 1699, concerns the favorite religious idea of the Pietists: " Dear Friend and Brother in fellowfighting in that Free and Royal spirit which strives for the Prize of the first Resurrection when in the midnight the Cry of the Bridegroom's coming is sounded forth among the Virgin waiters for the Preparation of the Temple-Body wherein the King of Glory and Father of the Coming Eternity is to Enter."

His " pen is too dull to express the extraordinary Powers of the Pietists and Chiliasts," but in a letter to Miss Hesther Pallmer, of Flushing, L. I., May 25, 1706, he gives an outline of his theology, closing with this exclamation: " Oh, that we may behold our Beloved Allwais standing behind our wall, looking forth att the windows, showing himself thorou

[46] Article on John Kelpius, Pietist, by Francis Howard Williams, in the *New World*, June, 1894.

[47] The voyage of the Pietists was described in a letter from Germantown, August 7, 1694, printed 1695.

[48] The *Journal of Johannes Kelpius*, Magister of the Hermits on the Ridge, 1694-1708 was photographically produced by Julius F. Sachse, Philadelphia, 1893.

the Lattesse, saying, 'Rise up my Love, my fair one and come away!'"

The unpublished manuscript hymn book of Kelpius[49] (1705) in German and English, contains ten pieces of verse with such titles as "Bitter Sweet, a Night Ode of the dying but contented Love," "The Power of Love, which conquers The World, Sin and Death," in one hundred and thirty-six stanzas; "A Comfortable and Incouraging Song made intentionally for two lonesome widows."

Thus we see that for thirty years the colonists, busied in the practical things of life, wrote to keep themselves free from heresy and schooled in spiritual doctrines, as well as to attract immigrants and thereby enlarge their commercial opportunities. Whatever was written was by the few, for the masses of the people had little ability or inclination to use their pens. The attempts at compositions not strictly utilitarian in character were made either for the interest or the amusement of the author or for the pleasure of personal friends.

[49] The manuscript is in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER II

EFFORTS IN POLITE LEARNING

Work of A. S. Bradford—*The Mercury*—Character of the Paper—Keimer, Publications, Relations with Franklin, Elegy to Rose—Life and Poems of Rose—Ralph, Life, Poems, Connection with Pope, etc.—Logan, Relations with Penn, Writings, Translations, Library—*The Wits*—French Translations—Latin Verse of Beveridge—Translations by Students—Study of French—Work of the German Press, Reprints, Magazines—Junto, Members, Object, Development into the American Philosophical Society.

When the day of colonization was past and the simple comforts of life provided for, men were more at liberty to pursue their individual tastes. Many of them cultivated the study of letters, not professionally, but as a means of culture and satisfaction. Two energetic printers furnished the people with newspapers, magazines, occasional reprints and a few importations. A coterie of men, for their own delectation, practiced the art of composition and criticism, and though they never attained the dignity of a school or even of a definite movement, they left one worthy memorial, —a library association, than which nothing has been more helpful to their posterity.

Andrew Sowles Bradford, the son of William Bradford, removed in 1712 from New York to Philadelphia to resume the work which his father had abandoned there. He had previously helped in the New York office and, while we know nothing of his education, the extreme illiteracy of which Franklin speaks[1] is not indicated in his strong, plain handwriting. Jocob Taylor, then in charge of the Friends' Press,

[1] See Franklin's *Works*, edited by John Bigelow, 1887, Vol. 1, p. 66.

retired in his favor. Bradford had no opponent before 1723 and until 1730 he was employed as printer to the Province. He was a city councilman, postmaster, and a vestryman of Christ church; Isaiah Thomas says he "increased his property, became easy in his circumstances, and preserved, in a considerable degree, the confidence of his fellow-citizens." He had attached to his office a store where he sold "bark, tea, molasses, snuff, skins, lampblack and beaver hats."[2] Among his importations of books were French grammars, English dictionaries, *Virgil, The Spectator, The Tatler* and *The Guardian,* and he published Fénelon's *Dissertation on Pure Love* along with *Letters of Madame Guion,* besides many almanacs.

The all-important work of Bradford was not this, but the establishment of the first newspaper in the middle colonies, *The American Weekly Mercury,* December 22, 1719. The first attempt at an American newspaper was the *Publick Occurrences* (Boston, September 25, 1690), which saw only one number, and thus is scarcely to be included in the list of journals. *The Boston News Letter* was begun April 24, 1704, the *Boston Gazette* December 21, 1719, so that Bradford lacked only one day of having the second place. As it is, Philadelphia's record is far in advance of the other colonies, since Boston had waited eighty-four years for a paper, New York[3] ninety-nine years, Virginia[4] more than a century, but Philadelphia only thirty-seven. Considering the fact that the first successful English daily newspaper, the *Daily Courant,* was started in 1702 and Defoe's *Review* in 1704, the work of the colonies should not be regarded slightingly. *The Mercury,* issued every Tuesday, consisted of four pages, but later was increased to six and on rare occasions to eight. Accord-

[2] See *Pennsylvania Journal,* Nos. 1238 and 1297.
[3] The *New York Gazette* came out in 1725; the *Virginia Gazette,* in 1736.
[4] See Hudson's *Journalism in the United States,* N. Y., 1873.

ing to Thomas, the typography of it was equal to that of Franklin's *Gazette*.[5]

Bradford followed the newspaper fashion of New and Old England in filling up with extracts and cuttings. Starting the first column with European happenings, copied from foreign sheets or letters received in the colony (he advertises for "news from Europe or other places, which may be proper for this paper"), he continued with reports from New York, New Jersey, Virginia and the West Indies, and allowed but a limited space for local events. For this reason, the files throw little light on existing conditions within the colony. In the issue of December 13, 1720, extracts were given from the *London Gazette* of October 1, concerning occurrences in Constantinople on August 19. Occasionally a fire, murder, or robbery is announced with the shipping news, the arrival or departure of vessels, lists of passengers, the current prices of products and two or three advertisements. A typical advertisement is this from the number for December 19,1721: "A very likely Negro Woman to be sold, aged about twenty-eight years, fit for country or city Business. She can Card, Spin, Knit and Milk and any other Country work." Below this, the editor offers for sale whale bone, molasses by the barrel, lampblack and lime. He says, furthermore, that book-binding and printing can be cheaply done. The last line of each issue contained the printer's address.

On the week of January 10, 1721, Bradford was in sore need, having no news, commercial statistics or appropriate extracts. The sheet begins thus: "This being a dead Time for News, no Vessel having arrived here since our last, Our Readers must not expect Impossibilities or that we can entertain them with fresher Advices. . . . We

[5] Thomas' *History of Printing*, Vol. 2, p. 326.

shall therefore beg leave to recapitulate with some modest Reflections on the present mysterious Conduct of the European Powers," etc., and he proceeds in an editorial manner. The first woodcuts used, in Number 22, show Mercury walking with extended wings (on one side of the title) and a mounted postman (on the other). This modest paper sold for ten shillings a year.[6]

Bradford was a different man from his father, whose experience with the Friends may have taught the son prudence. When arraigned by the Council for printing a pamphlet by Francis Rawle, he declared he knew nothing of it;[7] when Franklin published a number of the *Busy Body,* and Governor Keith reprimanded Bradford for printing it, the latter said it was done without his knowledge, and asked pardon of the Governor and board. He was told not to publish anything more without their permission, and so was dismissed. *The Mercury* of December 2, 1742, appeared in mourning because of the death of its editor. His widow continued the tokens of mourning for six weeks. Isaiah Warner entered into a partnership with her for two years and she carried it on alone for two more until 1746, when it was discontinued.[8]

Bradford had not long pursued his trade in Philadelphia when there appeared in the province a queer Englishman who was to be his rival. This man, Samuel Keimer, joined the "French prophets," according to Franklin. Laboulaye presumes he was one of the sect of fanatics called Camisards, who lived among the Cevennes Mountains in

[6] Franklin calls this paper a "paltry thing, wretchedly managed, no way entertaining and yet profitable to him." . . . *Autobiography,* p. 145.

[7] The pamphlet was *Some Remedies proposed for restoring the Sunk Credit,* by Francis Rawle. See *Minutes of the Council at Philadelphia* for 1725, or *The Weekly Mercury,* No. 307.

[8] The Colonial Society of Pennsylvania published the files of 1719–21 in two volumes, Philadelphia, 1898.

France, and were persecuted in the reign of Louis XIV. Escaping from a troublesome wife at home, he came to America with a sister in 1722. In 1718, while yet in London, he had published a work, entitled *A Brand Plucked From the Burning*, which contains a letter from Daniel Defoe.[8]* The first notice of him in Philadelphia appears on February 5, 1722, when he advertised his services to 'teach the negroes to read the Holy Scriptures in a very uncommon, expeditious and delightful manner without any expense.' This advertisement ends with a curiosity in rhyme:

"The great *Jehovah* from above,
Whose Christian name is *Light* and *Love*,
In all his Works will take Delight,
And wash poor Hagar's *Black Moors* white.
Let none condemn this undertaking
By silent thoughts, or noisy speaking;
They're fools whose bolt's soon shot upon
The mark they've looked but little on."

In one of the issues of the *Mercury* for January, 1726, Taylor, the poet printer and almanac maker, ridicules Keimer as desirous of being thought "a finished philosopher and universal scholar, never forgetting to talk of Greek and Hebrew," and adds these lines against him and his school:

"A school for thee, a most commodious place,
To nod and wink and point with such a grace,
Thy black disciples, now immerged in folly
Shall start our clerks, and read and speak like Tully;
The preference to the sable sort belongs;
The white man next must learn the sacred tongues,
Thus, in just order, are thy legions led
To realms of science, Keimer at their head."

8* In 1715 Keimer printed three tracts for Defoe.

Keimer established himself in business with "an old damaged press and a small cast of wornout English types contained in one pair of cases." His first order for work was to reprint for the Friends Sewell's *History of the Quakers,* translated from the Dutch and printed in London in 1722. A few copies had come to the colonies, and when the Friends asked Bradford to reprint it, he delayed an answer until he could send to his aunt Tacy Sowle, the English publisher, for seven hundred copies. Keimer was offered the work and accepted it at a lower price than was proposed to Bradford. The Friends subscribed for five hundred copies and advanced considerable money, but the paper and type involved him in debt. Although begun in 1725, it was not finished until 1728, and then with the help of Franklin and Meredith.[9]

In 1723, when Franklin reached Philadelphia, William Bradford, who happened to be back on a visit, took him to Keimer for work. Keimer, supposing Bradford to be a citizen of the town, and unknown to the other printer, talked of his business prospects and was drawn into unfolding his plans. This led Franklin to remember the one as a "crafty old sophister" and the other as "a mere novice."[10] In comparing the presses, he said: "These two printers I found poorly qualified for this business. Bradford had not been bred to it and was very illiterate, and Keimer, tho' something of a scholar, was a mere compositor, knowing nothing of press work."[11] Yet he and Franklin were associated for several years. Franklin added: "He had been one of the French prophets and could act their enthusiastic agitations. At this time he did not profess any particular

[9] See *Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters,* by J. B. McMaster, p. 46.

[10] See Franklin's *Autobiography,* Vol. 1, p. 65, in complete works, edited by Bigelow, 1887.

[11] See *Idem,* Vol. 1, p. 66.

religion, but something of all on occasion."[12] They argued in the Socratic fashion, and Franklin was invited to join Keimer's faith; the former, however, proposed "abstinence from animal food, which broke the man down and his system." Keimer wore his beard at full length, because somewhere in the Mosaic law it is said, "Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard."[13] He likewise kept the seventh day Sabbath.

The Parable, a short pamphlet by the two men, in 1723, so offended the Quakers that Keimer, the printer, was denounced and was henceforth "not to be countenanced by them."[14] In 1728 he started the second paper in Philadelphia, *The Universal Instructor in all the Arts and Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette.* After it had existed nine months the owner sold it to Franklin for a trifle. The list of subscribers numbered ninety. The first copy had two columns of extracts from Chambers' *Dictionary,* beginning with the letter A, two of general news, the address of the Legislature of New Jersey to their Governor and his reply, and three advertisements. When news ran low, an extract from Defoe's *Religious Courtship* (1722), or an original essay or poem filled the space. After the partners, Franklin and Meredith, secured the paper, it was greatly improved; extracts from the *Dictionary* and Defoe were omitted and attention was given to the things of the day; with a large circulation it became a means of strong influence. It continued to be published until 1824, at which time it was the oldest journal in the country.[15]

After the transfer of the paper, Keimer went to the Barbadoes, where, in 1731, at Bridgetown, he published *The*

[12] *Idem,* Vol. 1, p. 66.
[13] *Idem,* Vol. 1, p. 78.
[14] See *American Weekly Mercury,* January 14, 1724.
[15] *Franklin as a Man of Letters,* J. B. McMaster, p. 48.

Barbadoes Gazette, the first newspaper on the island. This was continued until his death in 1738. *Caribbeana,* a collection of letters, dissertations and poems, chosen from the *Gazette,* in imitation of the *Spectator,* was published in London, 1741. In it are extracts from Bacon and Addison, remarks on Milton, reflections on Shakespeare, and odes in imitation of Horace, written by various persons residing in the West Indies.

Keimer was an unfortunate man. *The Instructor,* No. 27, says: "I had at least at the rate of £120 per Annum, clear of all charges, secured to me by my Newspaper and Leeds's Almanack"; but he was unable to collect the money due him.[17] In reviewing his life he remarked that he was "for twenty years the constant butt of slander, . . . three times ruined as a master printer, nine times in prison, . . . persecuted with the most abominable lies the devil himself could invent . . . and yet never a wise, good or even honest man had been his enemy or knew any evil of him." A queer, enthusiastic fanatic, he must yet have been a man of some knowledge though no executive ability.

Keimer[18] in 1725 had printed *Ways and Means for the Inhabitants of Delaware to become Rich,* by Francis Rawle. As an active member of the Assembly for the city of Philadelphia from 1707 to 1726, Rawle had gained experience

[17] He told this story in an elegiac poem of thirty-four lines, *The Sorrowful Lamentation,* which can be found in Thomas' *History of Printing,* copied from the *Barbadoes Gazette,* March 4, 1734.

[18] A collection of elegiac poems in memory of Martha Thomas, "an excellent matron and worthy elder in the Society," was printed by Keimer in 1727. These enjoyed a reprint in 1837 by Lydia R. Bailey, printer to the common council. These elegies contain such climaxes as,

"But oh! she's gone; and we're alas bereaven
Of an example steering straight to Heaven."

Or,

"Her pious life she wisely order'd so,
When dying she had nothing else to do."

which he wished to be of benefit to the colonists. In this book he advocated a flourishing trade, supported by manufactures, and the raising of country products, which would necessitate the opening of new ports and advance the interests of the people. The tract pleased Governor Keith, anxious as he was for the "prosperity of the British in General."[19]

At the time of Franklin's visit to Keimer, the latter was at work on an elegy to Aquila Rose,[20] and promised the youth the task of printing it. Franklin said Keimer did not write the verses, but "composed them in the types directly out of his head." It begins thus:

> "What Mournful Accents thus accost mine Ear,
> What doleful echoes hourly thus appear?
> What Sighs from melting Hearts proclaim aloud,
> The Solemn Mourning of this numerous Crowd?
> In Sable Characters the News is Read,
> Our Rose is wither'd and our Eagle's fled
> In that our dear Aquila Rose is dead,
> Cropt in the Blooming of his precious Youth,
> Who can forbear to weep at such a Truth?"

It was ornamented with the usual symbols of death's head, bones and hourglass, and sold for two pence.

The departed poet, Aquila Rose, was born in England about 1695, where he was 'educated and happy, until he

[19] This is said to be the first work of Franklin. As he sailed for England in the fall of 1724, the type must have been set in that year and the copies not run off until the next. It was privately reprinted in 1878 by the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. 3, p. 118, and may also be found in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* Vol. 4, p. 36. In this book the editor advertises for sale The Crisis (Steele's?), An English Dictionary, The History of Diodorus Siculus and the History of the Wars of his late Majesty, Charles XII (Defoe's?).

[20] This poem can be read in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania,* November 28, 1723, and in Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature,* but is not in the collection of Rose's poems.

fell in love with one who did not return it.'[21] Being without money, he worked as a sailor to pay his passage to America. On reaching Philadelphia, he secured work with Keimer, married, and started out afresh. He was made clerk of the Provincial Senate, secretary of the Assembly and wrote his verses in the interim of much business. His ferry boat over the Schuylkill washed away during a storm, and while wading for it he caught cold and died, 1723. Keimer describes his funeral as a most elaborate affair, with four sermons:

> "A worthy merchant did the widow lead,
> And they both mounted on a stately steed."

In the procession

> "Our Aged Post Master[22] here now appears,
> Who had not walked so far for twice Twelve Years."

Rose's son, Joseph, collected twenty-six pages of his father's verse,—all he could find, and printed them, together with some of the elegies in his memory. The advertisement is touching,—"The good reception the poetical manuscript writings of my deceased father, Aquila Rose, have met with in this province, from men of wit and taste, with a desire of some of these to see them printed, induced me to collect what I could. But many of his best pieces were let out after his decease by my mother to persons who have forgot to return them, and perhaps the publishing these few will put them in mind of sending them to me." As a specimen of the eulogistic verse contributed by Keimer, the following must suffice:

[21] See *Poems of A. Rose,* Philadelphia, 1740, edited by his son. A copy is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[22] Perhaps A. S. Bradford.

"His Qualities will next bespeak his Fame,
A Lovely Poet, whose sweet fragrant Name,
Will last till circling Years shall cease to be,
And sink in vast profound Eternity.
His flowing Numbers and his lofty Rhime,
Have breathed and spoke his Thoughts, thro' every Clime.
So warm'd my Soul (and oft inspired my Tongue),
As if a Cherub or a Seraph sung."

The *Elegy* by Elias Bockett of London, copied from the *Mercury* of June 25, 1724, is in the form of a dialogue between Damon and Marino, concerning the happenings in the Western world and particularly the death of Amintas (Rose).

"Merit like his cou'd ne'er be long unknown,
His native Britain saw it not alone;
Where e'er he came, distinguished it appeared,
At every Part Amintas was rever'd,
Scarce was our Philadelphia in his view,
Before his Fame o'er all the Province flew."

The collection of Rose, after the memorial verses to him, opens with two translations from Ovid, the first parts of the second and third elegies:

"The Fatal Day had almost lost its Light,
Vail'd by the Curtains of the Sable Night;
Cæsar's allotted hour was nigh at Hand
When I must leave the Sweet Ausonian Land."

This favorite thought in his poetry—separation from his joys, comes out in the song, "To his Companions at Sea,"

Debarr'd, my Friend, of all the Joys
The Land and charming Sex can give,
Nor wind, nor wave, our Peace destroys;
We'll laugh, and drink, and nobly live.

His other verses are to individual friends. The inscriptions to Sir William Keith and to Richard Hill are more ordinary than the lines, "On the Death of his Friend's much lov'd Child." In the memorial poem to his sister, he dwells upon her perfections, thus:

> "Her Virgin Youth was past, unknown to strife,
> Each fleeting hour as if the last in life;
> Sweet as the op'ning Rose's infant Bloom
> Who their own Lives in Fragrancy Consume."

Rose accommodated the newsboys by composing for them in 1720, 1721 and 1722, verses which were presented to the subscribers as an appeal for a New Year's gift. The custom was continued until late in the century and rhymes were prepared by almost every aspirant to poetic fame. In this early period, largely devoted to prose, the presence of one man who wrote smooth couplets, though in an ordinary vein, was refreshing. If the elegies speak truly, Rose must have been highly regarded.[24] Franklin calls him an "ingenious young man of excellent character, much respected in the town, . . . and a pretty poet," but Franklin never knew him.

Franklin's chief acquaintances in Philadelphia were three clerks, Charles Osborne, Joseph Watson and James Ralph, "all lovers of reading." "Watson," says Franklin, "was pious, sensible and of great integrity; Osborne, sensible candid, frank, sincere and affectionate to his friends; but, in literary matters, too fond of criticising; Ralph, ingenious, genteel in his manners, and extremely eloquent." These four formed themselves into a club for the purpose of criticising each other's writings. Ralph was inclined to poetry

[24] An essay on the *Provincial Poets of Pennsylvania*, by Francis Howard Fisher (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 17, 1893), speaks of Rose with extravagant praise.

as a profession, but Osborne insisted that Ralph had no genius for it and should think of nothing beyond a clerkship. Ralph, thinking Osborne jealous, persuaded Franklin to read at their meeting Ralph's poem as if it were Franklin's own. He did so and Osborne was loud in his praises, which convinced Ralph of his ability and decided his future work. None of these poems is left us; probably the author considered them childish and did not care to preserve them.

Ralph became devoted to Franklin and, deserting his wife and child, accompanied the printer to England. As a result of the intimacy the former was shaken in his religious opinions;[25] the latter was involved financially. Somewhere in Berkshire Ralph began his career as a teacher of the village school, using Franklin's name instead of his own; although they corresponded for a few months, they never met again. Ralph's unpleasant intrigue with a poor milliner, who was now entrusted to Franklin's financial care, caused their estrangement. Twenty years later Governor Denny[26] brought Franklin news of the wanderer, "that he was one of the most esteemed political writers . . . with small reputation as a poet, Pope having damned his poetry, but prose as good as any man's."

Franklin tried to keep him from poetry, and in reply to parts of an epic sent from Berkshire, he presented him with a copy of Young's satire on *The Folly of Authors.* But Ralph was not to be turned aside, and in 1728 returned to London as a hack-writer. This year his first work was published, *The Touchstone, or Essays on the reigning Diversions of the Town.* In the same year appeared *Night,* a poem dedicated to the Earl of Chesterfield. It is in blank verse, descriptive of the four seasons, with one book devoted to

[25] Ralph is the "Mr. J. R." to whom Franklin inscribed in 1725 his *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain. Autobiography,* Vol. 1, p. 88.

[26] See *Autobiography,* Vol. 1, p. 80.

each. In this we find one amusing passage concerning Niagara, which his note explains is a river in North America:

> "Thus where, athwart a ridge of broken rocks,
> The rapid, sea-wide Niagara[26]* falls,
> With head-long haste it hurries down the steep
> As from a mountain's brow and raving loud,
> Forever thunders in the depths below." . . .

This poem has some merit, but while Pope knew of it he did not regard the author as sufficiently important to be included in the first edition of *The Dunciad,* 1728. Ralph, thus neglected, came forward to help the victims and made a vehement and coarse attack on Pope, Swift and Gay in an heroic poem called *"Sawney."* In a later edition of *The Dunciad* Pope gave him four lines.[27]

> "Silence, ye wolves, while Ralph to Cynthia howls
> And makes Night hideous,—answer him, ye owls."
> Book iii, ll. 165–6

[26] * Goldsmith in *The Traveller,* p. 24, in the Aldine edition, 1851, has a line which shows a similar pronunciation,

"And Niagara stuns with thundering sound."

[27] To this the poet adds a note: "James Ralph, a name inserted after the first edition, not known till he writ a swearing-piece called *Sawney,* very abusive of Dr. Swift, Mr. Gay and myself. These lines allude to a thing of his entitled *Night,* a poem. This low writer attended his own works with panegyrics in the journals, and once in particular praised himself highly above Mr. Addison in wretched remarks upon that author's account of English poets, printed in a London journal, September, 1728. He was wholly illiterate and knew no language not even French. Being advised to read the rules of dramatic poetry before he began a play, he smiled and replied: 'Shakespeare writ without rules.' He ended at last in the common sink of all such writers, a political newspaper, to which he was recommended by his friend Arnal, and received small pittance for pay; and being detected in writing on both sides on one and the same day, he publicly justified the morality of his conduct."

Dr. Johnson, in referring to the quarrel says: "Ralph, who unnecessarily interposing in the quarrel, got a place in a subsequent edition, complained that for a time he was in danger of starving, as the booksellers had no longer any confidence in his capacity." *Life of Pope by Dr. Johnson,* edited by Miss Stephen, 1897, p. 70.

"And see! the very Gazetteers give o'er,
Ev'n Ralph repents and Henley[27]* writes no more."
Book i, ll. 215–6

Ralph tried other poems; *The Tempest,* or *the Terrors of Death,* dedicated to Sir Robert Walpole, a serious, reflective effort, in smooth blank verse. He reveals his philosophy in this passage:

"Again as Life is likened to a storm,
Whose cloudy Terrors gloom the live-long Day,
Sure, He's the Happiest, whom the Breath of Fate,
Blasts in the earliest Bloom of budding Youth."

His ode, *The Muses' Address to the King,* applies to famous authors epithets that are amusing to us: Chaucer, "rough, unpolished"; Shakespeare, "uncultivated, rude"; Waller, "sweet, enchanting"; Milton, "unbounded, vast and bold"; "great Dryden, august with fame"; Addison, "the great, the just, the good"; Pope, "the joy of every muse." *Zeuma,* or *the Love of Liberty,* a poem in three books, is Ralph's best known work because selections are given in some anthologies. In the preface he says he chooses this fresh, unknown subject in the history of American Indians, so that 'mischievous writers cannot draw parallels to the author's disadvantage.' Zeuma was an Indian king, who tried to defend himself and his country against the Spanish invaders. Ralph found his inspiration in the thought of Zeuma's willingness to die or to sacrifice his wife for the love of liberty.

But since these would not sell he turned to drama, which was equally unsuccessful; *The Fall of the Earl of Essex,* a tragedy (1730), modelled on Banks' *Unhappy Favorite* (1682); *The Lawyer's Feast,* a farce imitating *The Spanish*

[27] * John Henley (1692–1756) was an eccentric London preacher and writer.

Curate of Beaumont and Fletcher, in 1744; *The Astrologer,* a comedy about Albumazar[28] (1744), all of which signally failed. *The Fashionable Lady,* or *Harlequin's Opera,* in three acts, was performed in Goodman's Fields. It is made up of twenty light, rollicking songs, connected by bantering conversation. Such airs as "The Honest Tar, that comes from far" and "Come, brave boys, forget the Ocean" and "Have you seen a lovely Creature?" are set to old tunes like "A Cobler there was" and "Come over the hills and far away." But the managers could not make them popular, and the author sought another line of work. With Henry Fielding he was co-editor of the *Champion*—an anti-ministerial paper (1741); later he edited *The Protector* and *The Remembrancer.* In 1742 *The Memoirs of the Duchess of Marlborough* was answered by Ralph in *The Other Side of the Question,* and followed in 1743 by a *Critical History of the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole,* which attracted so much notice and caused Ralph to appear so formidable to the ministry that they silenced him with a pension of six hundred pounds a year. Ralph was one of the race of editors whose morals are not to be dwelt upon. George Bubb Dodington said that, as a political writer, he was 'a very honest man'; thus implying that having sold himself, he was honest in keeping the bargain, a praiseworthy deed in Dodington's eyes.[29] Churchill mentioned Ralph in *The Conference,*

> "See Whitehead take a place, Ralph change his pen,
> I mock the zeal, and deem the men in sport,
> Who rail at ministers and curse a court."
>
> Lines 259–262

[28] The character of the astrologist was taken from a Cambridge University play by John Tomkis, 1614, who had borrowed from *L'Astrologo* of Gian Battiste del Porta, 1606; Dryden used it in 1668.

[29] See Leslie Stephen's *Studies with a Biographer,* pp. 51–53.

The best work of Ralph was his *History of England,* including the reigns of William III, Anne, and George I, published in 1744–6. Of this Charles James Fox says:[30] "I am every day more and more surprised that Ralph should have had so much less reputation as an historian than he seems to deserve." Hallam says he was "the most diligent historian we possess for the time of Charles II."[31] This work gives us the best proof of his ability. Although inexcusably tedious, it is used as a reference volume today. The only work of his later years was *The Case of Author by Profession or Trade Stated,* 1758, in which he complained that authors should be vilified when writing for money. He preferred to publish this anonymously, for which he had excellent reasons. He died in extreme poverty, from an attack of gout, at Chiswick in 1762.[31*]

He was by far the most capable man of the Philadelphia coterie, excepting Franklin, and would have achieved local distinction, had he remained at home. He was a man of talents, a writer of good prose, with a keen critical eye, a sense for facts, and a suggestion of conscious humor. He attempted to join the school of English poets who were striving to get away from the artificial tendencies of classicism. This is seen in the freedom of his verse, his love of nature and his joy in dwelling upon it, his choice of subjects and the varieties of his descriptions. His poetry was not important enough to have an influence on the precursors of the romantic school, but it is interesting that he appreciated the value of the new movement.

In 1699 James Logan came to this country as secretary and later, commissioner to Penn, and at the latter's death

[30] See C. J. Fox, *History of Early Part of Reign of James II,* p. 22.

[31] See Hallam's *Constitutional History,* Vol. 2, p. 576. The *History* contained an introduction reviewing the reigns of Charles II and James II.

[31*] See the excellent article by Francis Espinasse in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

was made the business agent for the family. From 1702 to 1742, he served as a member of the Provincial Council, was mayor of Philadelphia, chief justice of the Supreme Court, and for two years was the acting Governor. He was born in Ireland in 1674, but from religious preferences his father removed the family to England. Before he was thirteen the boy knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and soon added mathematics, and modern languages.

Because of a controversy with Governor Keith, Logan published in his own defence *The Antidote* (Philadelphia, 1725) and *A Memorial in Behalf of the Proprietor's Family and himself* (Philadelphia, 1725). In reply to Rawle's *Ways and Means,* he wrote *What's therein to be found?"* To his friend, Peter Collinson, in London, 1735, he wrote of his experiment in cultivating maize.[32] He defended Godfrey's claim to the invention of the quadrant, and in 1734 wrote to the Royal Society, *An Account of T. Godfrey's Improvement of Davis's Quadrant, transferred to the Mariner's Bow.* His *Charge to the Grand Inquest, 13 April, 1736,* (Phil., 1736; London, 1737), a general disquisition on crime, and his letters to Sir Hans Sloane *On the Crooked and Angular appearance of Lightning,*[33] and *On the Sun and Moon, when near the Horizon,*[34] and to Robert Jordan and other friends,[35] advising against retaining their seats in the Assembly, on account of the necessity of providing for the defence of the Province, show some of his many interests.

Franklin, in 1735, had printed Cato's *Distichs,* englished

[32] This was printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, 39, p. 192. Later it was enlarged and put into a Latin essay, *Experimenta Meletematade Plantarum Generatione,* Leyden, 1739; reprinted and translated by Dr. Fothergill, London, 1747.

[33] See *Philosophical Transactions,* 38, p. 441.

[34] Thirty copies were privately printed; it was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. 6.

[35] See *Idem,* Vol. 39, reprinted in *Memoirs of James Logan,* by Armsted.

in couplets by Logan, which is held to be the first translation of a classic made and printed in the British colonies. Greater learning is shown in Logan's annotated translation of Cicero's *De Senectute,*[36] which contains a preface by Franklin and was published by the latter in 1744. Franklin calls this "the first translation of a classic in this Western World." However, Sandys had made translations from Ovid in Virginia one hundred and twenty years earlier, though they were printed in London. The translation of Cicero is quaint and entertaining, as though by one happy in his task; the notes are full, with many references as to where researches may be continued. The editor says it was undertaken partly for his own amusement, but principally for the entertainment of a neighbor, 'who was not familiar with Roman history.' Franklin saw it in manuscript and was highly impressed. Logan's free and easy style can be seen in such a passage as this: "I am therefore far from being of the Mind of some, and amongst them we have known men of good Learning, who lament and bewail the Condition of human Life as if it were a State of real Misery; For I am not at all uneasy that I came into, and have so far passed my Course in this World; because I have so lived in it, that I have Reason to believe, I have been of some use to it; and when the Close comes, I shall quit Life as I would an Inn, not as a real Home. For Nature appears to me to have ordained this Station here for us, as a Place of Sojournment, a transitory Abode only, and not as a fixt Settlement or permanent Habitation. But Oh the glorious Day, when freed from this troublesome Rout, this Heap of Confusion and Corruption below, I shall repair to that divine Assembly, that heavenly Congregation of Souls, And not only to

[36] This book, the finest production of Franklin's printing, is valued at $75. It was reprinted in London 1750, 1758; Glasgow, 1751, 1758; Philadelphia, 1758, 1812. *Cato's Distichs* is rarer and is valued at $600.

those I mentioned, but also to my dear Cato, than whom a more virtuous Soul was never born, nor did ever any exceed him in Piety or Affection."[37]

Among Logan's correspondents were many famous men. Letters between him and Penn give a better picture of public affairs from 1702 to 1711 than any other documents. Professor Tyler[38] says: "Occasionally one finds . . . a passage of general discussion, in which the clear brain and the noble heart of the writer utter themselves in language of real beauty and force." Flamstead, Sir Hans Sloane, Jones the mathematician, Gronovius, Linnæus, Fabricius, Edmund Halley and others respected him. Linnæus named a class of plants for him. The Indians honored him by calling a chieftain after him.

At his death he bequeathed to the city his library of two thousand volumes, which included many of the Greek and Roman classics and the Greek mathematicians in folio. John Davis[39] says, in an account of a visit to this library in 1798: "I consider him so great a benefactor to literature that he is scarcely less illustrious than its munificent patrons of Italy; his soul has certainly been admitted to the company of the congenial spirits of a Cosmo and Lorenzo de Medici." This Loganian library was added to by his brother, Dr. William Logan, by William Mackenzie, of Philadelphia, who in 1828 left five thousand volumes, and in 1867 by the Rush-Ridgway contribution. It was made a branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia.[40]

In the *Mercury* of April, 1731, is an anonymous poem,

[37] Chapter 23, p. 168.

[38] M. C. Tyler, *History of American Literature*, II, 234.

[39] *Travels in America*, p. 40.

[40] John Neal said of him: "Logan was a great scholar for the age, familiar with many languages, and a good mathematician. We look upon him as altogether an extraordinary man." *Blackwood's Magazine*, January, 1825, Vol. 69; "American Writers," No. 4.

entitled "The Wits and Poets of Pennsylvania," in which the author satirizes five of his contemporaries, Breintnall, Webb, Taylor, Brooke and a fifth whose name is not given and the description of whom is not recognizable. The first, Joseph Breintnall, is mentioned by Darlington as an enterprising merchant.[41] Franklin pictures him as "a copier of deeds for the scriveners, a good-natured, friendly, middle-aged man; a great lover of poetry, reading all he could meet with, and writing some that was tolerable; very ingenious in many little knick-knackeries, and of sensible conversation."[42] Breintnall was the first secretary to the City Library Company. As a contributor to the *Mercury,* he continued to number thirty-two the series of articles signed "Busy Body" of which Franklin had written six. Included in one of these essays, that of June 19, 1729, is a poetical description of Market street, its shops, dwellings, post and pillory. Breintnall was a friend and admirer of Webb's and wrote a rhymed preface to the latter's *Bachelor's Hall:*[43]

"Let every deed that merits praise,
Be justly crown'd with spritely verse;
And every tongue shall give the bays,
To him whose lives they, pleased, rehearse.

Long stand the dome, the garden grow,
And may thy song prove always true;
I wish no greater good below,
Than this to hear, and that to view."

The satirist, referred to above, gives this estimate of him:

"For choice of diction, I should Breintnall choose,
For just conception and a ready muse;

[41] See Darlington's *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall.* Philadelphia, 1849.

[42] See *Autobiography,* p. 142.

[43] *History of Philadelphia,* 1609–1885, by J. F. Scharf and T. Westcott, Vol. 2, p. 1104.

Yet is that muse too labored and prolix,
And seldom on the wing knows where to fix.
So strictly regular is every rise,
His poems lose the beauty of surprise,
In this his flame is like a kitchen fire,
We see the billlets cast which mount it higher."

George Webb was more distinguished. Born in Glouces-ter, England, he attended the grammar school there and was known for his ability in amateur plays, his membership in the Wits' Club, and for his compositions in prose and verse for the London papers. He spent one year at Oxford, but his ambition to go on the stage caused him, at the age of eighteen, to take his allowance of fifteen guineas, to leave his bills unpaid and to walk to London. Soon he came to want and, without telling his family, bound himself to come to America. Here his time was bought by Keimer and he obligated himself to be a compositor for four years. A lady lent him money to repay the printer and Webb sought work of Franklin. The latter had none for him, but on a promise of secrecy, Franklin intimated that he might use him on a newspaper soon to be started. Webb hastened to Keimer with the news, and received a good position for getting the latter's paper started in advance. After this we know nothing of him, for when Keimer sold the press to David Harry, no reference was made to Webb's being in his employ. Of him Franklin says: "He was lively, witty, good-natured and a pleasant companion, but idle, thought-less, and imprudent to the last degree."

It is likely that he wrote many things in the *Instructor and Pennsylvania Gazette,* since he was the most capable man on the staff. We are sure of one poem, *Bachelor's Hall,* in honor of a society club, whose meetings were in the suburbs and not distinguished for their morality. Webb

puts on the title-page a motto from Cicero and pictures the resort as a temple of science.

" Fired with the business of the noisy town,
The weary Batchelors their cares disown;
For this loved seat they all at once prepare,
And long to breathe the sweets of country air;
On nobler thoughts their active minds employ,
And a sweet variety enjoy.

'Tis not a revel or lascivious night,
That to this hall the Batchelors invite;
Mysterious nature here unveil'd shall be
And knotty points of deep philosophy."[44]

His lines on music are more pleasing:

" Then music too shall cheer this fair abode,
Music, the sweetest of the gifts of God;
Music, the language of propitious love;
Music that things inanimate can move.
Ye winds be hush'd, let no presumptuous breeze
Now dare to whistle through the rustling trees;
Thou Delaware, a-while forget to roar,
Nor dash thy foaming surge against the shore."

He was a man of talents, but they were wasted because of his lack of steadiness of purpose and force of character. The anonymous satirist, previously mentioned, says of him:

" 'Twas George's Muse rang'd this unbidden track,
Webb who like Banloft 's famed for the best hack;
For through the piece poetic genius shines,
When thoughts sublime meet in harmonious lines;
Where bounding Pegasus with loosened rein,
Proud of the course, shewed a well ordered vein."

[44] The poem may be found in Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, Vol. 1, p. 102.

Jacob Taylor, mentioned earlier as a foe to Keimer, kept a mathematical school in the city in 1701, was a surveyor general from 1706 to 1733 and an almanac maker from 1702 to 1745, the year of his death. His almanac was his best work and the most popular production of its kind in America before *Poor Richard*. Astronomical calculations interspersed with rhymes, some less crude than others, filled up the pages. We have two longer pieces—*Pennsylvania* (1728) and *The Story of Whackum*, a satire on the quack doctors of the day. To *Bachelor's Hall* Taylor affixed a complimentary effusion possessed of little merit. A seemingly serious characterization of him in the *Mercury* might well be satirical:

"With years oppressed and compass'd round with woes,
A muse with fire fraught yet Taylor shows;
His fancy's bold, harmonious are his lays,
And were he more correct, he'd reach the bays."

Henry Brooke receives these lines from the satirist,

"In Brooke's capacious breast the Muses sit,
Enveloped with sense polite and poignant wit;
His lines run smoothly though the current's strong;
He forms with ease, with judgment sings the song.
Oh, would he oft'ner write, so should the town
Or mend their tastes, or lay the muses down;
For after Manna, who would garbage eat,
That hath a spark of sense or grain of wit."

This gentleman was the son of an English baronet and was assigned a position as collector of customs. Before leaving England, he had been well educated, and here in his loneliness he devoted his time to study and composition. In 1705 he dedicated to Robert Grace, a "young man of fortune," a poem, *A Discourse Concerning Jests*. This exhibits him as a man of refinement and makes us know that he was at least

familiar with the best models of verse, as is evidenced in the following,

"And if you mind a thing that's said with art
Conveys a calmer joy thro' every part,
Dilates the bosome, cheers the vital Flood,
And heard again and yet again is good;
But scarce provokes to laugh, yet that's the best
The brightest charm of your bewitching jest."

And,

"Candor, good nature, conscious modesty,
All medicines for the jesting malady."

Brooke died in 1735. The *General Magazine* of 1741 contains a poetic tribute to his memory, describing him as a linguist and scientist.

John Parke[46] has preserved for us six translations from Ovid and Anacreon, made by David French. This man, American born (1700–1742), the son of Col. John French, was well known in Delaware between 1720 and 1730. In the record of his death he is called a "prothonotary of the court at New Castle." Of the translations, Parke says: "These poems were consigned to oblivion, through the obliterating medium of rats and moths, under the sequestered canopy of an antiquated trunk." Two of them are from the elegies of Ovid, four from the odes of Anacreon (1st, 4th, 11th and 26th). These smooth, easy verses, written between 1720 and 1730, show French's knowledge of the classics and make us think he might have done some original work. So far as we can learn, all his accomplishments were acquired in Pennsylvania, which implies something for early colonial scholarship. The 11th ode, *On His Age,* runs thus:

[46] See *Lyric Works of Horace,* by John Parke, Philadelphia, 1786.

"Oft by maidens, I am told,
Poor Anacreon, thou grow'st old.
Take the glass and see how years
Have despoiled thy head of hairs;
See, thy forehead bald appears,
But whether hair adorns my head
Or all my golden tresses fled,
I do not know, but from their lore,
Resounding my approaching hour,
This truth I know, infallible,
'Tis time to live, if death be nigh."

Another of this school, familiar with the classics and imitating them, was William Satterwaithe, an Englishman, who taught a village school until he tried matrimony after one evening's acquaintance with the lady. This imprudence led him away from England to Bucks county, Pennsylvania, where his struggles with poverty were varied only by the harrassing temper of his wife. For relief he cultivated piety, as is evidenced in his uninteresting efforts in poetry. *The Mysterious Nothing,* 1738, suggested by his acquaintance with several young ladies, was followed by a poem on *Providence* and a *Religious Allegory on Life and Futurity, addressed to the Youth.* He found a patron in Jeremiah Langhorne, the chief justice following James Logan. His elegy to Langhorne is a sincere attempt, without brilliancy and showing only borrowed elegance.

William Lowry, the author of several Latin odes, lived and wrote about 1741. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* February 17, 1742, his name is subscribed to a piece, *De morte luctuoso celeberrimi Andreas Hamiltonis,* etc. He is thought to be the author of a *Carmen Gratularium* to Governor Thomas, which was published in Franklin's *Universal Magazine* in 1741. John Dommett, an author of salutatory

and panegyrical odes to prominent men, had an elegy to Hamilton in the *Mercury,* July 28, 1738. This little group were openly imitative, but it must be said in their favor that they sought good models. They were not serious nor profound, but light, buoyant, genial. They led a life which pleased them, and their study took the form of culture rather than of scholarship. On the other hand, teachers and students were putting their ideas into Latin verse. Unattractive and juvenile as it appears to us, their work deserves credit, even praise, for metrical accuracy. The leader of this coterie was John Beveridge, a native of Scotland and at one time a teacher in Edinburgh under the patronage of Ruddiman.[47] Here he had as a pupil the blind poet, Thomas Blacklock, to whom he sent some English verses with his motives for writing poetry. Beveridge translated into Latin Blacklock's paraphrase of the 104th Psalm. In 1752 he came to America and in 1758 was made Professor of Languages in the College and Academy of Philadelphia.[48] His collection,[49] *Epistolæ familiares et alia quædam miscellanea* (Philadelphia, 1765),[50] is dedicated in the *Carmina Gratularia* to the provincial dignitaries, Penn, Allan, Hamilton, Smith and Alison. The opening lines *On Mr. Beveridge's Poetical Performances* are by Alexander Alexander, a classical scholar and tutor in the college, who translated many of Beveridge's odes into English.

[47] Thomas Ruddiman, one of the founders of the earliest literary society in Scotland, and printer of the University of Edinburgh, wrote the *Rudiments of the Latin Tongue,* 1732. He is mentioned not infrequently in Boswell's life of Dr. Johnson.

[48] A contemporary teacher of English, in the college was David James Dove. He was a writer of popular satires which appeared in the periodicals or were distributed as broadsides through the streets. *The Lottery* and *Academy Garland,* poems (Germantown, 1758), were more dignified.

[49] A Graydon, *Memoirs;* or Hazard's *Register,* Vol. 8, p. 317.

[50] These compare favorably with *Selecta Poemata Anglorum Latina,* edited by Edward Popham, Bathoniæ, 1774.

"Here you may view a bard of modern time,
Who claims fair Scotland as his native clime;
Contends with Flaccus on the Roman Lyre,
His humour catch and glow with kindred fire.
Tiber, the theme of many a bard's essay
Is sweetly rival'd here in Casco Bay."

There are forty-six epistles; of the two in English, one is to Thomas Blacklock, the other to —— ——; they are a collection of platitudes, smoothly written. The 43d, *"Ad præcellentiss, Tho. Penn, Pennsylvaniæ Proprietarium, seu (Latine) Dominum,"* asks for lands, reminding him that Ajax, Æneas and Mæcenas were only remembered because of Homer, Virgil and Horace; but since we know that Beveridge died in the profession it is not likely that Penn cared to be immortalized in Latin hexameters. John Parke records "that he imitates the verses of the first of Latin poets in pureness of language and variety of versification." The English translations made by Beveridge's pupils are thus introduced: "The Editor begs a little indulgence for them, as they are all (except Dr. Mayhew's and Mr. Morton's) done by students under age; and if the Critic will only bear with them till their understandings are mature, I apprehend they are in a fair way of doing better." Then follows the work of Thomas Coombe,[51] Alexander Alexander, Nathaniel Evans[52] and Stephen Watts.

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 2, 1736, is a sonnet, and in that of August 12, an elegy on the death of Governor Gordon,—both in French and written by John Solomon, a professor of French. He offers "to teach the Latin and French languages after the most easy and concise method, to the gentlemen and ladies of Philadelphia."

[51] See Chapter V.
[52] See Chapter IV.

The thrift and energy of the German colony is strongly displayed in their press. Conrad Beissel[53] had Andrew Bradford, in 1728, print with Roman type a German octavo, *Das Büchlein vom Sabbath,* which Michael Wohlfarth translated in English and published in 1729. It purported to be a dialogue between a father and his son on the duties of the Sabbath. The record says it was " so effective that the congregation now publickly adopted the Sabbath as the day for divine service." Christopher Saur, a student from the University of Halle, opened a press and printed a hymn book of eight hundred pages, *Zionitischer Weyerauchs-Hügel,* 1739, the first book made in America from German type. This is the largest collection of the hymns of the Ephrata Cloister. A manuscript volume, beautifully written and illuminated and containing the music to the hymns, is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[54] The interpretation of a certain hymn caused a misunderstanding between Beissel and Saur and led to the establishment of the Ephrata press. Saur, owning his type foundry, paper mill and factory, proved an energetic workman.[55]

In 1739 he issued the first number of *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschichte-Schreiber,* a monthly magazine of four to eight pages.[56] The Bible, 1743, a quarto edition of Luther's translation, was the first one printed in America in any European language.[57] The German almanac, August,

[53] Dr. N. M. Fahnestock in a communication to the Seventh-Day Baptist Publication Society, Plainfield, N. J., December, 1852, says this was written and published in 1725. Hildebrun gives it 1728.

[54] See *Deutsche Pioneer,* Pennsylvania German Publication Society, Vol. 8, p. 470.

[55] Governor S. W. Pennypacker estimates the imprints of Saur in fifty years as two hundred and fifty; Mr. Pennypacker owns one hundred and eighty of that number.

[56] It was continued as a semi-monthly by Saur's son and grandson until 1777. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a file from April 16, 1743, to November 1, 1751, and from January 16, 1754, to December 18, 1761.

[57] See O'Callaghan's *American Bibles,* p. 22. John Eliot's Indian Bible was printed in 1663. Robert Aitkin published the first English Bible in America in 1782.

1738, was made up of twelve leaves, with the usual calculations, records of courts, chronology of important events, lists of books sent him on commission from Frankfurt-on-the-Main, and practical readings of a physiological and hygienic character. This was continued after 1778, when the Revolution broke up Saur's establishment, by John Dunlap. When almanacs became necessary, even Benjamin Franklin published a German one of forty to forty-eight pages, 1748–53. On the title page of one for the year of 1779, published at Lancaster by Francis Bailey is a representation of Fame, holding in one hand a portrait bearing the name of Washington and with the other hand holding to her mouth a trumpet out of which she blows "Des Landes Vater."[58]

The *Martyrer Spiegel* of Van Braght, a historical and biographical work of the Mennonites, written in Dutch and translated into German by Peter Miller, 1748, was the largest publication in America prior to the Revolution. It is a folio of fifteen hundred pages; thirteen men were occupied for three years in printing twelve hundred copies. The paper, printing and binding were done at Ephrata.[59]

It is not true, though often stated, that Franklin started the cultivation of letters in Philadelphia; he says that he discouraged the writing of poetry except for amusement and improvement in language. Many of these men knew more of the classics than he and had a deeper insight into the beauties of poetry. He, with his superior genius for organization and leadership, was fitted to unite and direct their energies. When a boy in Boston his father had belonged to one of the Neighborhood Benefit Societies, founded

[58] Mr. N. S. Baker and Governor S. W. Pennypacker claim that this is the first appearance of that title. It is usually traced to Hardie's *Remembrancer*, 1795. See *Early Literature of Pennsylvania Germans*, by S. W. Pennypacker, in *Pennsylvania German Society Publications*, Vol. 2.

[59] See *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 5, p. 276.

by Cotton Mather, to twenty of which the reverend gentleman belonged. The boy, that he might hear practical discussions in matters of religion, business, government and education, accompanied the father. His youthful mind was so impressed that, when a man, in 1727, he decided to form a club similar in many ways to this first one, "for the improvement of its members and their fellow citizens in knowledge, virtue and wisdom." A candidate for membership must declare that he felt "no particular disrespect for any member, that he loved mankind in general, that he thought no one ought to be harmed for speculative opinion or for external way of worship, and that he loved the truth and would try to find and impart it." At the meetings of the Junto on Friday evening of each week, the members in turn produced one or more queries on any point in Morals, Politics and Natural Philosophy; and once in three months, each gave an original essay. Twenty queries on the private study of the members, the prosperity of the citizens, the needs of the sick or strangers, the advantageous changes desired in the laws, were read and discussed at each meeting. The debates were to be under the direction of a president and to be conducted in the "sincere spirit of inquiry after the truth, without fondness for dispute or desire of victory."[60]

This society was long known as The Leather Apron Club, from the number of mechanics among its members. The city possessed few professional men, while it abounded in glaziers, shoemakers, joiners, clerks and surveyors. There was no opportunity for a professional man of letters, but by means of papers and discussions, dormant talents might be awakened or unpromising efforts discouraged, and thus the cause of literature be benefited. All were not favorably impressed with the organization. Franklin[61] says of Thomas

[60] *Autobiography*, p. 141.
[61] *Ibid*, p. 142–4.

Godfrey, the glazier, and inventor of Hadley's Quadrant: "He knew little out of his way, and was not a pleasing companion; as like most great mathematicians I have met with, he expected universal precision in every thing said or was forever denying or distinguishing upon trifles, to the disturbance of all conversation; he soon left us."

Besides Godfrey, Breintnall and Webb, of whom we have spoken, there was included Nicholas Scull, the 'surveyor general, who loved books and sometimes made a few verses.' Scull (1687–1762) was a runner and interpreter for the Delaware Indians, sheriff and civil engineer. His map of Pennsylvania was published by an act of Parliament in January, 1759. Scull's chief claim to remembrance is a satire in verse, *Kawanio Chekeeteru,* 1755, or a *True Relation of a Bloody Battle fought between George and Lewis.* It is an attack on the Quakers for preventing proper measures being taken to defend the province from the French and Indians. The argument ran as follows:

> "How George, for to regain his Right,
> With Lewis held a dreadful Fight;
> In which the man who rais'd the strife;
> Was vanquished, and lost his Life;
> Whereon a warm dispute arose,
> About the legal Use of Blows."

Other members of this provincial club are thus characterized by Franklin: William Parsons, 'bred a shoemaker, but loving reading, had acquired a considerable share of mathematics, with a view to astrology and afterwards laughed at it; he became surveyor-general'; William Maugridge was a 'joiner, but a most exquisite mechanic and a solid sensible man'; Hugh Meredith, a 'Welsh Pennsylvanian, thirty years of age, had been bred to country work; he was honest,

sensible, a man of experience and fond of reading'; Stephen Potts, 'a young country man of full age, had been bred to the same, of great wit and humor, but a little idle'; David Harry, an apprentice from the country, who bought out Keimer when he started to the Barbadoes and later followed him there, 'was proud, dressed and lived handsomely, spent much time abroad, became indebted and was forced to return to his country work in Pennsylvania'; Robert Grace was 'a young gentleman of some fortune, generous, lively and witty; a lover of punning and of his friends'; and William Coleman was 'then merchant's clerk, about my age, who had the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals of almost any man I ever met with. He became afterwards a merchant of great note and one of the provincial judges.'[62]

This group of men, utterly incongruous, it would seem to us, as the nucleus for a successful club, met in a tavern or alehouse until the rich member, Grace, gave them a room in his house. Oftentimes a member would bring a book for use in the debate or for a declamation, and this led Franklin to suggest that all transfer their books to the room for reference during the day and at the meetings. After a year of communal service the owners, whose books had suffered injury, carried the volumes home. This deprivation gave to the founder the idea of a subscription library. In 1731 a plan was evolved whereby each member subscribed four shillings for the first purchase of books and ten shillings for a period

[62] In Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania* for March, 1835, there is a letter from Robert Vaux, enclosing a manuscript which he had obtained from his grandfather, Hugh Roberts, the intimate friend of Franklin. This adds a few names of early members to the original eleven, with the remark that most of them were born in 1706. Hugh Roberts, Philip Syng, Enoch Flower, Joseph Wharton, William Griffiths, Luke Morris, Joseph Turner, Joseph Shippen, Joseph Trotter, Samuel Jervis and Samuel Rhoades. In a letter from Roberts to Franklin, June 24, 1785, he says: "Franklin, Syng and I are the last three survivors of the Junto."

of fifty years for the perpetuation of the library. The number of subscribers was soon enlarged from fifty to one hundred. Logan and Franklin gave the list of chosen books to their English agent, Peter Collinson, who added as his gift Newton's *Principia* and Gardener's *Dictionary*. Non-subscribers could obtain books by leaving a pledge for the value and paying a charge of eight pence a week for a folio, six pence for a quarto and four pence for all others. This wise, economical policy made the plan eminently successful and brought deserved fame to the oldest and one of the most valuable of American city libraries. Of it Franklin said: "Reading became fashionable and our people having no public amusements to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books and in a few years were observed by strangers to be better instructed and more intelligent than people of the same rank generally are in other countries." [63]

This club, which continued forty years, was a satisfactory memory to its founder, and was to him 'the best school of philosophy, morality and politics, that existed in the province.' He often refers to it in his letters as 'the good old club,' the 'ancient Junto'; in one of 1766 he says: "Remember me affectionately to the Junto."

In 1743 this organization became the nucleus of the American Philosophical Society, with Franklin as its first secretary. Six of the nine members were from the Junto. All ingenious persons throughout the provinces were invited to co-operate, but Philadelphia was to be the center because 'of conveniences of post and sea and the advantage of a good, growing library.' Their aim was to extend throughout the world the knowledge and usefulness of discoveries and inventions in arts and sciences. A physician, a botanist,

[63] See *Autobiography*, Vol. 1, page 169.

a mathematician, a mechanic, a geographer, a general natural philosopher, the president, the secretary and the treasurer must reside in Philadelphia. Here we see implied a rapid growth in the professional sciences. Since the city could fulfil this requirement there must have been a growth in the knowledge of the classics, especially Latin, a growth in the possession of books, by the individual or the city, but greatest of all, a growth in the habit of reading. In these few years this people had advanced from sermons as their only form of reading to general history, science and literature. Latin, German and French were being studied; some of the English writers were being read and we may soon expect many reprints.

CHAPTER III

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AS A PHILADELPHIA WRITER

Environment of Franklin—Early Training—Editorial Experience—Removal to Philadelphia—Early Success—Publications, *Gazette, Poor Richard, Father Abraham*—Founding of the Academy—Foreign Work for the Colonists—Last Years in Philadelphia—Neglect of the Autobiography—Characteristics—Essays—Correspondence—Work for Home Reforms, For the Revolution—Bagatelles—Character of Man and Writings—Personal Philosophy—Religious Attitude—Representative of His Age.

In the first forty years of the existence of the colony of Pennsylvania we have seen that no great monument of literature had been produced, nor was any man of letters known throughout his own or foreign lands. The thrift and industry of the people were bringing unusual financial success to Philadelphia, which was now developing from a village into a city. The general population, made up, not of Quakers alone, but of many sects and nationalities, enjoyed a cosmopolitan atmosphere. The people were ready for swift advancement in many lines if an able leader should appear to direct them. This man came, philosopher, diplomatist, politician, economist, printer, scientist, inventor, citizen, under the name of Benjamin Franklin.[1]

Though born of honest Puritan stock in Boston, Franklin saw by the time he was seventeen that he could never live there. His reading of Shaftesbury and Collins was inexcusable to the Puritans. He was correct to them only when

[1] Were it not for the fact that a study of Pennsylvania literature with Franklin omitted would resemble the play of Hamlet without the hero, this chapter would not have been written, the subject having been so thoroughly treated by Prof. J. B. McMaster in his volume in the "American Men of Letters."

limited to his father's library, two Bibles, a concordance, Plutarch's *Lives,* Mather's *Essays to Do Good* and Defoe's *Essay on Projects.* But a boy who will live on rice and bread and milk to purchase with the savings *The Pilgrim's Progress,* and exchange that in return for a stray volume of *The Spectator,* which had found its way to the colony, cannot long be restrained by any sect. For many reasons his native city was not fitted to retain one of such liberality of mind, and, when he ran away, circumstances led him from New York, where he could not obtain work, to a printing establishment in Philadelphia. Here this youth of wavering religious convictions grew into "an honest man," and unfettered by restraint had an equal chance with other men in a community ripe for development. No other American city was so ready for him nor was he so well adapted to any other. He became the greatest man in the city and the province, not because he was the best known to the world at large, but because for fifty years he was the most useful at home. With his services to the Republic and the world, we are not here concerned, only the unsentimental, unspiritual, common-sense Franklin of Philadelphia,—who originated the most practical reforms, accomplished the most good, wrote the worthiest classic of his land and time,—interests us now.

Boston taught him at least two things—how to edit a newspaper, and how to write prose. Associated with his brother, James, on *The New England Courant,* he carried his anonymous verses on the street to sell. When he could not exchange them for pennies, and his father reminded him that all verse makers were beggars, quick to avoid such a fate, he turned to prose. The popularity of *Mrs. Dogood*[2]

[2] A series of essays, signed Mrs. Dogood, appeared in the *New England Courant,* edited by James Franklin, Boston, 1721–1723.

made him sure of his ability as an essayist. The story of his rise and promotion in Philadelphia is familiar. His association with Bradford[3] and Keimer, his meeting with Miss Read, his trip to London at the suggestion of Governor Keith, his return when twenty, changed from an awkward boy to a man of the world, his paper, his printing establishment, his shop, his taking a wife and forming a home before he was twenty-four, are told us by himself. No former printer had made much money either by the publication or the sale of books, and many persons warned Franklin against the attempt. He saw, however, that, since they profited on a poorly managed paper and workshop, he could do well with both wisely conducted. His thrift, industry, economy and general breadth of interests insured him success.

The *Gazette*,[4] which he had purchased from Keimer, was stripped of its old-fashioned peculiarities and filled instead with attractive articles. The new editor sought writers from among the people, knowing they would buy the paper, if only to read their own effusions. Discussions on practical subjects were carried on by himself; there were dialogues, moral essays and articles on domestic economy, in which Anthony Afterwit, abused by an extravagant and foolish wife, would be replied to by Patience Teacroft. Matters of reform were argued, and in this way the city was persuaded to establish a city watch, a fire company and a militia. He made ordinary things seem important, and thus transferred his own ideas to the minds of the common people. Every number contained some article of a literary character, an ex-

[3] The *American Magazine*, the first on the continent, while printed and sold by Bradford, was projected and edited by John Webbe. In the *Weekly Mercury* for November 6, 1740, the prospectus appeared, which promised the first issue in March, 1741. When it was learned that Franklin intended publishing the *General Magazine*, they hastened matters and issued the first number on February 13th, three days before him. Both were failures, the former surviving three months, the latter six.

[4] For the early history of the *Gazette* see Chapter II, page 32.

tract from an English classic or suitable paraphrase. No personal controversy was permitted, and only liberal and generous points of view were encouraged. The pieces of pleasantry, humor and mirth were designed for the general reader. The cuts to illustrate the advertisements were made by Franklin himself. In fact, he produced such a paper as must have had a decided effect on all readers of the day. Far-sighted, sensible and fearless, he did not hesitate to introduce any original idea or to advocate any needed reform.[5]

Among his publications of the period are: Isaac Watts's *Psalms of David,* of which twenty-two editions were made between 1729–1781; *Life and Sermons of George Whitefield;* Richardson's *Pamela,* 1744, which was the first novel printed in America; *Works of Thomas Chalkley,* 1748; *Catechism of Martin Luther,* 1749; Samuel Johnson's *Elementa Philosophica,* 1752. One of the most curious of the early native books was *The American Instructor* or *Young Man's Best Companion,* by George Fisher, Philadelphia, 1748. It endeavored to teach the elementary branches so as to qualify any person for business without the help of a master; it included rules for carpentry, remedies for diseases, and prudent advice to young tradesmen and dealers.

Franklin did more to procure readers for the volumes he imported than to supply fresh books for the province. He kept in his shop a supply which was liberal for the day, and he said he found it remunerative. During these years of active business (1728–48)[6] he set aside one or two hours of every

[5] A complete file can be seen in the collections of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[6] His business ability is evinced in his management of the post office. The whole system underwent a reformation, postage was reduced, routes were shortened, delivery was hastened, letters advertised and the revenue increased to such an extent as to meet the salaries and to return to the crown three times as much as the Irish post office.

day for study, and thus helped to accumulate that knowledge, of which he had been deprived in earlier years. While he never spoke well any language but his mother tongue, he read with ease French, Italian, Spanish and Latin. Having his attention drawn to electricity, he advanced from simple experiments to a knowledge of the subject which entitled him to membership in the Royal Society and the reward of a Copley Medal. Although he never had a day of high school or college, both Harvard and Yale gave him an M.A.; St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Oxford, a doctorate.

In December, 1732, was published that most renowned of all almanacs, *Poor Richard*. Since the birth of the colony this was the one form of literature read in every family. Franklin's success with his newspaper made him confident of the outlook in this field. Really it was a comic almanac, with weather predictions and calculations, in which he introduced many improvements along with much fresh material. Humorous prefaces by Richard Saunders or his wife, Bridget, were followed by extracts from standard works. Some lines of doggerel, suited to each month, were intermixed with his maxims. These unquestionably caught the ear of the people and prompted them to economy and thrift. The quaintness of their phraseology, the simplicity and directness of their ideas have given these pithy proverbs an undreamed-of popularity. Franklin had borrowed some of them from Bacon, Rochefoucauld, *Poor Robin*,[7] Gadbury[8] and others. "A stitch in time saves nine," "One to-day makes two to-morrow," "It is hard for an empty sack to

[7] *Poor Robin* was an English comic almanac (1663–1828), full of coarse humor, prognostications of weather, eclipses, courtings, weddings, etc. Robert Herrick is said to have assisted in the first numbers.

[8] Gadbury in his almanacs had made use of Ray's *Collection of English Proverbs*, Cambridge, 1678.

stand upright," " A penny saved is two pence clear," " Every little makes a mickle," " He that can have patience can have what he will," " A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," and many more were introduced or re-introduced into daily use and helped to make Poor Richard a real person. The sale was phenomenal, the first edition being exhausted in one month and three editions called for in one year. For twenty-five years it was continued with an average circulation of ten thousand copies. It was the most esteemed almanac in Pennsylvania, was sold as far north as Rhode Island and as far south as the Carolinas.

The influence of this almanac may be compared with that of the one issued by Nathaniel Ames in Massachusetts. This was continued at Dedham by Ames from 1726 to 1765, and to 1775 by his son, at a cost of eighteen pence for each copy. It was a sort of annual cyclopædia of information and amusement in prose and verse, with choice bits from Addison, Thomson, Pope, Dryden, Butler and Milton. Ames laid great stress upon his astronomical calculations and weather predictions.[9]

In the almanac of 1758 appeared the most popular of all Franklin's prefaces,[10] the speech of Father Abraham, which purported to have been delivered at an auction.[11] One of the company asked a clean, bald old man what he thought of the times and the danger of the heavy taxes. "Friends," said

[9] See *Essays, Humor and Poems* of Nathaniel Ames, father and son, of Dedham, Mass., from almanacs, 1726–1775, edited by Samuel Briggs, Cleveland, Ohio, 1891. Also *The Old Farmer and His Almanac,* by G. L. Kittredge, Boston, 1904. The first of Robert Baily Thomas's almanacs was published in 1792.

[10] A series of ten of the pocket almanacs (1746–1765), rarer than *Poor Richard,* in original marbled paper covers are valued at $325. The blank leaves have curious manuscript notes showing the varied interests of the several owners.

[11] This was written in a time of general depression. For four years the colonists had been annoyed by the French and Indian wars. Trade remained dull, while taxes were heavy. Popular complaints were being heard on every side. Franklin seized this opportunity of preaching economy and industry as the only salvation, and the conditions of the people helped on the popularity of the pamphlet.

he, "the taxes are indeed very heavy, and if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commission cannot ease or deliver us by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice and something may be done for us; God helps them that help themselves, as Poor Richard says." Thus he continues in a practical manner. Poor Richard concludes: "The people heard it and approved the doctrine, and immediately practised the contrary, just as if it had been a common sermon; for the auction opened, and they began to buy extravagantly. I found the good man had thoroughly studied my almanacs, and digested all I had dropped on these topics during the course of twenty-five years."

This, *The Way to Wealth,* is a collection of all the pithy sayings of the almanacs, and especially worthy as Franklin's last contribution to the series. The popularity of it grew into a craze. Besides the ten thousand copies, it came out as a broadside and as a pamphlet, was copied again and again in the newspapers and republished at New Haven, New London, and Philadelphia. Prof. McMaster says: "Without question the speech of Father Abraham is the most famous piece of literature the colonies produced." It followed Franklin to England and to France. Now it has spread all over the world, and can be read in sixteen languages. It has had fifty-six translations into French, some of which the priests distributed among the poor, and nine into Italian.

In 1749 the subscribers of the *Gazette* found a pamphlet enclosed in their paper—"Proposals relating to the education of youth in Pensylvania." This explained that some gentle-

men were forming a plan for a school and wished suggestions. Franklin's idea was for a practical academic training without Latin and Greek, but the classics were insisted upon by all others concerned. Suggestions and money were sent in, twenty-four subscribers chosen as trustees and the academy opened on January 7, 1751. This school flourished, became the Philadelphia College, and later the University of Pennsylvania. The patrons subscribed over two thousand pounds. There were three schools, the English, the Mathematical and the Latin, each under a master with a number of ushers. A most beneficial effect was produced upon the community, not only through this institution, but indirectly through the general interest it stimulated in educational matters.

After this Franklin's life was given to the world, and although he often longed to spend his days in quiet in Philadelphia, his services were too much needed in the struggles of a nation to permit it. For ten years, as agent for the colonies, he labored with King and Parliament for our liberties. Then, on his return to this country, and his tardy realization of the definiteness of the war, he was hurried off to France to secure aid for us. How he was lionized there, visited by the leading courtiers, scientists, philosophers and men of letters, made the recipient of verse from fashionable women and sonnets from well-established poets,—all this is familiar. Wherever he went the name of Philadelphia was heralded as the city of his choice, and it was envied because of the citizen. Foreigners could not understand how a purely American product could have become so cosmopolitan. He was so capable in many ways, so unconfined to any one locality, so perfectly conversant with matters of concern to the world.

We wonder how this homely man of such varied activities ever wrote ten volumes, but he never intended a great deal

of that mass for publication.[12] His early essays were utilitarian; his observations and letters were for his own delectation and never designed for the public. His best writing was done in his last years. After 1764, when he had grown more familiar with European models, there is a wonderful difference. The style is brighter, the invention keener, the movement more sprightly, the artistic effects more natural, the didacticism less studied and ponderous. Fortunately his story of his life was told after all his powers had matured.

The history of his autobiographical manuscript is a long one.[13] The first five chapters were written during a visit to the Bishop of St. Asaph, at Twyford, in 1771. When Franklin started for Paris in 1776 he left his papers with his friend, Joseph Galloway, who placed them in a trunk, in an outhouse of his home in the city. Soldiers raided the place, scattered the papers, and thus they lay for many months. A Quaker, Abel James, found a packet of the notes and twenty sheets of closely written manuscript. Being a friend of Franklin's and pleased with this fragment, James sent a copy to the former and asked him to continue it. At Passy, in 1784, while minister to France, he resumed the story, and again in 1788; after his return home he brought the story first to 1757, and subsequently to 1762. The copies went to M. Le Veillard and Rouchefoucauld, at Paris, and to Benjamin Vaughan and Dr. Price, in England.

Before publication could be considered the author died. There had been a collection of his letters on electricity published in 1751, without his consent, by his friend, Peter Collinson. After enlargements in 1753, 1754, 1760–62, and 1769, this amounted to a quarto of five hundred pages and was translated into Latin, Italian, French and German.

[12] Some things remain uncollected because of their coarseness and unfitness for the public.

[13] *Works of Franklin*, edited by John Bigelow, Vol. I.

In 1779 Benjamin Vaughan collected the political, philosophical and miscellaneous pieces. These were not complete, and later the public turned to William Temple Franklin, the author's grandson, to whom the manuscripts had been willed. After promising an early and complete edition,—which promise was partially fulfilled after twenty-seven years,—he carried the papers to London and deposited them with his bankers. In 1791 Buisson published in Paris a miserable translation of the *Autobiography* down to 1731. How he obtained a copy and who translated it has never been known. M. Le Veillard declared he knew nothing about it and that this was only one third of what manuscript he had.

In 1793 two separate editions of the *Autobiography* were issued by London firms. One ludicrous translation of the French copy was made by J. Parsons; a far better rendering was by Dr. Price, but it is certain that Temple Franklin had not allowed him to retain the copy given him by Dr. Franklin. During this time no one could explain the silence or the delay of the grandson. Frequently he was attacked by the press and finally it was openly asserted that he had been silenced by the British government. The fact that his father was pensioned by the crown and would be endangered by the publication, strengthened the popular belief. After much fuss and worry, Temple Franklin issued, between 1817 and 1819, six octavo volumes, the first genuine, though still incomplete edition.

But the story is not yet concluded. When Temple had finished his editorial work, he restored the manuscripts to the old chest and their former place in the bank. After his death, in 1823, his widow removed the chest, and nothing was known of it until 1840, when several bundles of the papers were found on the top shelf of a tailor's shop in London. They had been removed from the chest, which

was held to be of greater value than its contents. In 1851 Abbott Lawrence, United States Minister to England, heard of them and caused them to be purchased by Henry Stevens, the American bibliophile, living in London. In 1881 they were bought by the United States Government for £7000.

In 1867, Mr. John Bigelow, United States Minister to France, obtained through a descendant of M. Le Veillard the original manuscript, which Temple Franklin had given to Madame Veillard that he might have her clean copy for his edition. This copy, which Temple published, was mutilated to suit the political taste of England and the whims of the editor. Over twelve hundred alterations were counted by Mr. Bigelow; the last eight pages were omitted altogether. Bigelow printed the *Autobiography* in 1868, and in 1887–88 brought out an edition of the complete works in ten volumes.[14] The ridiculous changes of the grandson were due to his desire to purify the text by the substitution of more formal words for Franklin's homely vocabulary. The exchange of "footed it to London" for "walked it to London," or of "Keimer stared like a pig poisoned" for "Keimer stared with astonishment," "in the homespun verse," for "according to the taste of the times," "I still thought" for "I still continued to consider,"—pleased his foolish notion of refined style. He substituted for "lucky," "fortunate"; for "wait," "to have patience"; for "brought in," "admitted"; he struck out many phrases, changed the construction and altered the meaning, at his pleasure. Bigelow presented it as the author meant it,—preserving even the queer spelling for which Franklin was noted. The force and freshness of the real copy are invigorating beside the garbled text, so long thought genuine.

As an autobiography, it ranks, of course, among the best.

[14] In 1836–40 Dr. Jared Sparks had published the writings in ten volumes.

The simple way in which Franklin tells the story of his early struggles, the vividness of the pictures of his attempts to get on in the world, and of his friends and their intercourse, the names of Philadelphians, famous because of their place here, the doings of the colonists, the evolution of the provincial village into a cosmopolitan city—all are striking. There is a force in the narrative, a buoyancy in the details, a deep, underlying humor, that make it attractive to all readers. Its popularity extends from the high school where the young people eagerly discuss it, to all public libraries of the country. As long as there is a reading public in America, this book will be sure of immortality.

But Franklin wrote more. The essays and correspondence fill several volumes and yet all have not been collected. The letters abound in wisdom of a genuine sort, in careful observation, homely illustration, fearless truthfulness, independence and sincere concern in political and personal matters. Whether addressing "his plain Sally," who is busied in making soap, or giving to his cousin matrimonial hints, or writing to Logan about fortifications on the Delaware, to Peter Collinson on electricity, to William Strahan on the feigned cessation of their friendship, or to Burke on the friendly exchange of prisoners of war, the same Franklin is seen. In each letter and essay there is something distinctive and definite. The essays have a broad range of subject. Getting his training from the writing of prefaces to almanacs and editorials on individual and social improvements, Franklin attained a freedom and ease for his later and better work. The scientific observations on electricity and practical arts were intended for humanitarian ends. Of his electrical experiments the lightning rod was the climax; from his inventions there resulted a good chimney, an easy chair and a swimming pad. He saw the province needed these and

supplied them. The reform of the hospital, the drilling of a militia, the establishment of a fire company and police system, initiated in Philadelphia many modern conveniences.

There were occasions, however, when Franklin's ideas on home reform were not so valuable to the public. At a time when coin was rare, the Assembly had issued paper money and prohibited the exportation of coin. This was once more demanded, England disapproved,—but Franklin issued *A Modest Inquiry* into the nature of paper currency and persuaded the Governor and Assembly to defy England and issue the money. Franklin printed it, and found it, as he said, very profitable to him.

Franklin's writings during the Revolutionary period are of two kinds. Before 1775 he tried to convince England that America had blundered and, if violence were removed, would do the right thing; after war came, his only idea was our success. His *Examination Before the House of Commons* relative to the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, published in 1767, and widely circulated in England and on the Continent, gave many foreigners their first real knowledge of the trouble. By his marvelous presence of mind, his knowledge of the conditions, his frankness and wit, he answered the questions of the House in such a way as to command respect for himself and friends for the cause. His *Edict by the King of Prussia,* and his pretended letter from the Count de Schaumburg to the Baron Hohendorf, commanding the Hessian troops in America, are full of the wary which was his favorite weapon in politics.

After expressing his unspeakable pleasure in the letter that out of the one thousand nine hundred and fifty Hessians engaged at Trenton, one thousand six hundred and five were killed, he says: "The court of London objects that there were one hundred wounded who ought not to be included in the list,

nor paid for as dead; but I trust you will not overlook my instructions to you on quitting Cassel, and that you will not have tried by human succor to recall to life the unfortunates whose days could not be lengthened but by the loss of a leg or an arm. That would be making them a pernicious present; and I am sure they would rather die than live in a condition no longer fit for any service. I do not mean by this that you assassinate them; we should be human, my dear Baron, but you may insinuate to the surgeons with entire propriety that a crippled man is a reproach to their profession. . . . Do you remember that of the three hundred Lacedemonians who defended the defile of Thermopylæ not one returned? How happy I should be, could I say the same of my brave Hessians! It is true that their King, Leonidas, perished with them; but things have changed and it is no longer the custom for princes of the empire to go and fight in America for a cause with which they have no concern. And, besides, to whom should they pay the thirty guineas per man if I did not stay in Europe to receive them?"

Of the last piece John Bigelow asked, "Since the death of Swift, who, besides Franklin, was sufficiently a master of this kind of satire to have written it?" In such work he was powerful, cleancut and fearless. In a letter to Joseph Priestley, October 3, 1775, he sent this message to Dr. Price, which illustrates another form of his quaint humor: "America is determined and unanimous, a very few Tories and placemen excepted, who will probably soon export themselves. Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is twenty thousand pounds a head; and at Bunker Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking a post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From this

data his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory."

His really delightful essays are yet to be considered. While he was living in France, weekly gatherings were held at Auteuil, where the Abbé Raynal, the Abbé de la Roche, Cabanas, Morellet, Franklin and others met the fascinating Mesdames Helvétius and Brillon. Each contributed to the general fund a song, a story, an anecdote, or a piece of wit. Franklin was not overshadowed. He addressed to Madame Brillon the *Story of the Whistle,* the *Ephemera,* the *Handsome and Deformed Leg,* the *Morals of Chess,* the *Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout,* and the *Petition of the Left Hand.* Not all are new. The *Ephemera,* a reproduction from memory of an *Essay on Human Vanity* published in the *Gazette* of 1735, shows the developed style of a man of seventy-five as contrasted with that of twenty-five. In taking the Ephemera as an emblem of human life, he reports a soliloquy of one, 'gray-headed, single on a leaf,' who believed the world would pass away in eighteen hours, leaving universal death and darkness. He said: "I have lived seven of those hours, a great age, being no less than four hundred and twenty minutes of time. How very few of us continue so long. I have seen generations born, flourish and expire. My present friends are the children and grandchildren of the friends of my youth, who are now, alas, no more! And I must soon follow them; for, by the course of nature, though still in health, I cannot expect to live above seven or eight minutes longer. What now avails all my toil and labor, in amassing honey dew on this leaf, which I cannot live to enjoy! What the political struggles I have been engaged in, for the good of my compatriot inhabitants of this bush or my philosophical studies for the benefit of our

race in general! for in politics what can laws do without morals? . . . My friends would comfort me with the idea of a name, they say, I shall leave behind me; and they tell me I have lived long enough to nature and to glory. But what will fame be to an ephemera who no longer exists? And what will become of all history in the eighteenth hour, when the world itself, even the whole Moulin Joly, shall come to its end, and be buried in universal ruin?"

For Madame Helvétius he composed a drinking song,—a little piece entitled *Truth is in Wine,* and that delightful dream, *Visit to the Elysian Fields.* These bagatelles show the influence of his age, his travel and experience. In brightness and vivacity they resemble the popular French writings of the day.[15] With them his compositions practically end. After the preliminary articles of peace were signed and Jefferson was appointed in his stead, Franklin's remaining years were passed in Philadelphia, where he received the courtesies due one of his worth, not only from his home city, but from the nation.

Franklin was by profession a printer; late in life, after recognition had come to him in many departments, he preferred to claim the title with which he opened his career. Writing was an incidental pursuit to him, yet his distinctly literary compositions are greater than those of many who work only for reputation and money. While it may be true that he left no great contributions to history, poetry or fiction, his place in American literature is very unique. He has given us some real characters. Richard Saunders, Bridget, his wife, and old Father Abraham are lifelike; Polly Baker, Anthony Afterwit and Patience Teacroft are very familiar. From a boy he chose Addison as his model and in places in

[15] Lord Jeffrey said that these were executed with the lightness and spirit of genuine French composition, "with all the point and facility of the fire pleasantries of Swift and Arbuthnot, with something more of directness and apparent sincerity."

the *Autobiography* and the *Bagatelles,* the keen wit, playful humor, light fancy and easy style are equal to those of his master. His works are not adorned with studied or imitated figures of speech; short words and sentences, force, clearness, good humor and good sense characterize them. He always had something definite to say and after having made it clear he spent little time in polishing. The idea was first, the style second,—both peculiarly his own. His qualities were natural, his humor neither too subtle nor too obvious, his words such as he used in conversation. These things show the well-rounded, independent, fearless man.

His phenomenal common sense and his vast experience in the world helped to clarify his thoughts and his success in almost every endeavor gave him a confidence and a sureness of movement rarely found in a mere man of letters. In all his writing, grave and gay, severe and lively, one sees his brilliancy, his wisdom, his humanity and his helpfulness to the people. His success was the result of a natural genius stimulated by a desire of being helpful. His mind was alert to every possible opportunity of advancing the colonists.[16] His club, ending in a national association, his village school destined to become a great university, his opening of a subscription library,[17] to be copied in every town of the land, show us that, while his efforts were meant for Philadelphia, their results extended throughout the nation.

The philosophy of his life was utilitarian; he enforced morality as cleanliness or honesty, not from principle, but because it was the best policy; frugality and economy, optimism and contentment brought happiness.[18] The scheme of arriving at moral perfection by practicing thirteen virtues

[16] For the organization of the Junto and its development into the American Philosophical Society (1743), see Chapter 2, page 56.

[17] For the establishment of the first subscription library (1731), see Chapter 2, page 58.

[18] See a letter to Ezra Stiles, March 9th, 1790.

in as many weeks, then conducting a self-examination and marking on a page ruled with red ink, a black spot for every fault committed, is ludicrous. He believed in God the creator, who should be reverenced by sympathy with man. He thought Christ's system of morals the best ever given, but he doubted His divinity. The immortality of the soul depended on a man's conduct in life; he expected a happy future, because he had enjoyed earthly felicity, and saw no reason for a change. Notwithstanding the fact that he was non-sectarian, most people honored and trusted him; he was asked to defend Massachusetts and her religious intolerance against English criticism; he was respected and followed by Quakers; he was safe in relying on the Indians[19] and able to make satisfactory treaties with them; he was reverenced by atheists; in fact, his religion was so honest and so honorable that any man could accept it.

In a letter of July 18, 1784, to Messrs. Weems[20] and Gant, the light, flippant attitude toward things spiritual is evident. These gentlemen could not be ordained without taking the oath of allegiance, and Franklin advised self-ordination, "to follow the example of the first clergy of Scotland, soon after the conversion of that country to Christianity." He added: "If the British Islands were sunk in the sea (and the surface of this globe has suffered greater changes) you would probably take some such method as this."

The alterations of the Prayer Book and the revision of the parables appear really humorous to us. There was not in him a deep appreciation and a reverence for spiritual things. The philosopher calmly probed into the matter and approved of whatever brought universal happiness. In this way he was like his age, speculative in philosophy, am-

[19] A rare Franklin reprint of a *Treaty with the Indians,* July, 1742, with many names of those in attendance, is valued at $125.

[20] Later the famous "Parson Weems."

bitious in all fields of learning, with a preference for the prose rather than the poetry of life, not overburdened with delicacy or with scrupulousness of any kind, but emphasizing the practical and realistic in economy, philanthropy and politics. In no one of these fields was he the greatest; the controlling eloquence of Pitt was not his birthright; in political philosophy he could not equal Burke; in economics Adam Smith surpassed him; in balance of character and genius Washington was superior to him; Dr. Johnson was a better critic; Frederick the Great a more daring leader of men; Voltaire a more pronounced man of letters. Yet, Franklin shows a balance, which was most typical of his age, noted for its prose and reason. Furthermore, Franklin is a notable product of Americanism.

Benjamin Vaughan, in the preface to his collection of Franklin's works in 1779, said very truly: "Yet he who praises Dr. Franklin for mere ability praises him for that quality of his mind, which stands lowest in his own esteem. Reader, whoever you are and how much soever you think you hate him, know that this great man loves you enough to wish to do you good. His country's friend, but more of human kind." [21]

[21] A new and fuller edition of Franklin's writings edited by Prof. Albert H. Smyth is now appearing, but the first volume came too late to be much utilized in this chapter. The Introduction gives a full account of the interesting fortunes of Franklin's manuscripts and a valuable running commentary upon his works. On p. 24 we find that the translator of Buisson's edition of the *Autobiography* was Dr. Jacques Gibelin, but how he came by his copy is still a mystery.

CHAPTER IV

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY POETS

Thomas Godfrey, Life, Verse, Chaucerian Imitations—Influence of English Poets—Condition of the Drama and Theatres in Philadelphia—Godfrey's *Prince of Parthia,* His Borrowings from Shakespeare and Congreve—Nathaniel Evans, Life, Poems, Friendship with Miss Graeme, Versified Correspondence—Work of Mrs. E. Graeme Ferguson—Appreciation.

In a number of the *American Magazine*[1] for 1758, a poet who signed himself "Junius" was introduced by the editor in the following manner: "This little poem (*The Invitation*) was sent us by an unknown hand, and was dated as an original; if it is so, we think it does honor to our city." In a few weeks odes on *Friendship* and *Wine* and a *Night Piece* followed with this introduction: "These pieces fell into our hands by accident. . . . We reckon it one of the brightest instances of good fortune that has befallen us, during the period of our magazine, that we have had an opportunity of making known to the world so much merit."[2]

The gentleman thus spoken of was Thomas Godfrey, 1736–63, whose father Logan[3] and Franklin pronounced to be the inventor of the quadrant. The father died when the son was very young and the mother was able to give him only an elementary education. At an early age he was apprenticed to a watchmaker; the boy's inclinations, however, were for poetry, painting, and music rather than for mechani-

[1] The *American Magazine* was edited by the Rev. William Smith and published by William Bradford in Philadelphia, from October, 1757, to October, 1758.

[2] Introduction to *Juvenile Poems of Thomas Godfrey.* Edited by N. Evans, Philadelphia, 1765.

[3] See Logan's letters to Edmund Halley in *Memoirs of Logan,* by Armsted.

cal employments. In 1758 he obtained a lieutenant's commission in the Pennsylvania forces and served in the expedition against Fort Du Quesne. After the troops were disbanded, he accepted a situation as factor in North Carolina, where he remained three years. On the death of his employer he returned to Philadelphia, thence sailing as a supercargo to the island of New Providence. After a few months he came again to North Carolina, where, because of the heat, he contracted a malignant fever and died at the age of twenty-seven, after a week's illness.

During his life most of his poems appeared in the *American Magazine,* and portions were copied by the *London Monthly Review.* The latter said of him: "He certainly has genius; and we are sorry he had not the education to improve it. They wish for learning in the Colonies, and we would not discourage any efforts that way by the rigors of criticism." Nathaniel Evans was much concerned for the success of the quarto volume, *Juvenile Poems on Various Subjects* (Philadelphia, 1765), brought out under his direction, and bespoke "the candour of the public in behalf of the collection, as the first of the kind which the colony has produced."

Godfrey's forms of verse were three-fold: familiar verse, longer imitative poems, and drama. Of the first there were light, airy poems, to Sylvia, Celia and Chloris, concerning walks through groves, filled with sonnets of love, the renunciation of fashionable toys, and satisfaction in the sweet delusions of nature. The longer odes on Peace and Friendship, and the occasional verses are conventional. The use of personified abstractions like Peace, Virtue, Fancy and Melancholy was in the fashion of the day, as exemplified by Akenside, Gray and Collins. In 1742 Gray had written his ode, on a *Distant Prospect of Eton,* and

in the same year William Collins published his odes to *Simplicity* and *Evening,* and some *Persian Eclogues.* Akenside's odes were collected in 1745, Warton's in the same year, and Mason soon followed, until the Miltonic school included most of the principal contemporary English poets. In one ode, a dythrambic on wine, Godfrey shows the influence of Dryden's *Alexander's Feast,*

"Haste, ye Mortals! leave your sorrow,
Let pleasure crown to-day—to-morrow yield to fate,
Join the universal chorus,
Bacchus reigns
Ever great;
Bacchus reigns
Ever glorious—
Hark! the joyful groves rebound,
Sporting breezes catch the sound,
And tell to hill and dale around—
'Bacchus reigns'
While far away
The busy echoes die away."

The *Epistle to a Friend from Fort Henry,* written at the time he was stationed there, gives a picture of the frontier settlers, "when every field was stained with the blood of its owners, by the merciless hands of unfeeling savages."[4] His best pastoral is *To the Memory of General Wolfe.* Damœtas found Lycidas in the shade weeping over Amintor's death—"the first of shepherds":

"Our shepherds met him with a loud acclaim,
And every coward's cheek was marked with shame."

His openly imitative poems, *The Court of Fancy* and *The Assembly of Birds,* are more pretentious. The preface

[4] See a footnote to the *Epistle,* p. 20 of Godfrey's *Juvenile Poems.*

to the former says: "The learned readers need not be acquainted that the author took the hint of the transition from the court of Fancy to that of Delusion from Chaucer's poem called *The House of Fame,* where the change is from the house of Fame to that of Rumour; and that he likewise had Mr. Pope's beautiful poem on that subject in his eye." The editor might truly have added that Godfrey took more than a hint from Chaucer, for, beginning with the third book, he followed the original outline with only minor substitutions. Sleeping at noon, the poet had a vision of Fancy's temple, at which were assembled all the gods hearing requests from various personages in Roman mythology.

> "Close at her feet, a Bard, in rapture lost,
> Was plac'd, and wildly round his eyeballs tost.
> Great Fancy was his theme! the soothing strain
> In floods of pleasure thrill'd through ev'ry vein."

He calls all the nations to praise, and in throngs they come, led by false Delusion. After disposing of these bands and their requests, he says:

> "By Reason guided we shall only know
> Those heav'nly joys which Fancy can bestow!"

The Assembly of Birds is a paraphrase of *The Parlement of Fowles.* Beginning at the thirteenth stanza, Godfrey obtained 175 lines from the 281 of the original—185th to 466th. At times he gives verbatim translations; again he omits whole stanzas. He was pleased with the historic references and included most of them.

Citations from the poem set beside the original will show his method:

Peace with her lovely blooming olives sat,	Dame Pees sat, with a curteyn in hir hand;

Sweet was her envied smile, and by her side
Pale Patience, on a sandy bank, I spy'd.
Here Art was seated with her shining train
And Majesty, spread round her high domain.
Godfrey, 100 to 105, p. 87.

And her besyde, wonder discretly,
Dame Pacience sitting ther I fond
With face pale, upon an hille of sond;
And alder-next, within and eek withoute,
Behest and Art and of hir folke a route.
Chaucer, 240 to 245.

In 1763 Godfrey published *Victory,* on the triumph of British arms in America, a poem illustrative of the loyalty and patriotism of the colonies toward the mother country. The angelic maid, Britannia, finds the gates leading to the palace of victory guarded by Honor, Death, and Fear—

"High on her shining seat was Victory plac'd,
Sweet were her smiles, but dreadful was her form,
Her left hand with the spreading palm was grac'd,
And in her right she held the Victor's crown,
One perfect Ruby was her glitt'ring throne,
Gold were th' ascending steps, but smeared with blood,
Close by her side bright laureled Glory Shone,
And Fame with her loud sounding trumpet stood."

Britannia, on entering, complains that Victory has forsaken her, but the goddess promises glory in the future and pays a tribute to the British fleet and to General Wolfe. In some ways this attempt is more successful; his using the dignified stanzaic forms and some classic ideas of Gray's, joined to romantic touches, gives the poem a certain interest.

This brings us to Godfrey's tragedy, a work of significance because of its being the very first attempt of its kind[5] in

[5] *Androboros,* by Robert Hunter, was issued in New York in 1714 as a dramatic satire on members of Trinity Church. See *Early American Plays,* by Oscar Wegelin, New York, 1905, p. 41, or a new edition of the play in 1905.

America. *The Prince of Parthia* was composed in 1759 in North Carolina, and hurriedly sent north without revision that it might be acted by the American Company, playing in Philadelphia. It was advertised in the Pennsylvania Chronicle, but the performance was not reviewed. It was produced once, April 24th, 1767, and printed only in his volume of poems.[6]

There was a well established theatre in Philadelphia at this time. The first mention of a theatrical performance there occurred in January, 1749,[7] when the recorder of the city reported to the council " that certain persons had lately taken upon them to act plays in the city and intended to make frequent practice of the same, which, it was to be feared, would be attended with very mischievous effects—such as encouragement of idleness and drawing great sums of money from weak and inconsiderate persons, who are apt to be fond of such kind of entertainment." The board requested the magistrates to suppress this disorder. In March, 1754,[8] Hallam's Company from London, including Mrs. Hallam and her two sons, obtained license to present some plays on the condition that they give " nothing indecent or immoral." Their first entertainment was *The Fair Penitent*[9] and *Miss In Her Teens,*[10] Box, 6s; Pit, 4s; and Gallery, 2s, 6d. The engagement concluded in July.[11] In 1758 a building, Society Hall, was erected outside the city, and in July of the following year David Douglas, with some of the Hallam Company, appeared. The Presbyterian Synod appealed to the Governor and Legislature against it; and the Friends applied to

[6] See the *History of the American Theater,* 1888, by G. O. Seilhamer, p. 194.

[7] See J. F. Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia, 1857, Vol. 1, p. 471.

[8] *History of the American Theater,* by G. O. Seilhamer.

[9] *The Fair Penitent,* a tragedy by Rowe, was produced in 1703.

[10] *Miss In Her Teens,* a comedy, written and played by David Garrick in 1747 with Garrick as Tribble.

[11] *American Magazine,* Vol. 5, p. 185.

Judge William Allen for relief. A law was passed in 1760 forbidding such entertainments and making it a penalty to aid, act, or even to sell tickets. To evade this, the bills would announce "a concert of music, after which will be presented gratis a lecture or dialogue on the vice of scandal, etc.—giving a few lines from the play."[12] This is in accordance with the devices of the British performers of a hundred years before, when play-houses were closed and players treated as rogues. In 1656 Davenant gave a quasi-dramatic entertainment "of declamation and music."

Southward theatre was opened in 1766 and closed only with the Revolution. During the British occupation of the city the officers of Howe's army played regularly, devoting the proceeds to the widows and orphans of the soldiers.[13] Watson says, "The old Southward was the only theatre with a regular company, all stars, in the United States, or at that time in the New World."[14]

Returning from this slight digression we note that Godfrey's play shows youthfulness, haste, and extensive borrowings; yet it contains some good lines and many tragic situations. The plot is from an Oriental story and hinges on the motives of jealousy, deceit, and falsehood. It may be regarded as an historical work, for, according to Tacitus, Strabo, and Josephus, Queen Thermusa was the wife of Phraates, the fourth King of Parthia, previous to Artabasdes. The characters employed are the King of Parthia, with three sons,—the oldest, loyal to his father and subjects, the second, jealous, but apparently loyal, the third, intriguing and deceptive—a false queen and a beautiful captive maiden with whom the King and two sons are infatu-

[12] Watson's *Annals*, Vol. 1, p. 473.

[13] A collection of the posters and tickets in use from January 19 to May 6, 1778, may be seen in the rooms of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[14] Watson's *Annals*, Vol. 1, p. 473.

ated. The loyal son has returned from a triumphant campaign in Arabia and brought with him many captives. His success and popularity among his people give rise to the jealousy of his brothers, at which point the play opens. The evil brother and a court officer, at night, during a dreadful storm, lay a plan of conspiracy, by which the events of the play are guided. Here Godfrey borrows from *Hamlet*[15] the significance of the awful night and the walking of the dead as the prediction of coming calamity.

> " Some dread event beneath this horror lurks;
> . . . . . .
> E'en the pale dead, affrighted at the horror
> As tho' unsafe, start from their marble gaols,
> And howling thro' the streets are seeking shelters."[16]

These men see the loyal son enter the prison, and by creeping near, hear him speak gently to the captives. The girl, whom both of these sons love, goes unnoticed into the prison and recognizes her father, wounded and in chains, to whom the Prince promises freedom in return for the hand of the maiden. On this the conspirators build. A note is sent to the King, implying that the Prince is in league with the enemy. The King, already angry with him for having won from himself the girl, can stand no more. Prince and captive are incarcerated, while the evil son, after having his father stabbed, conceals the girl in the palace. The queen, offended with the prince, comes to slay him, but the dagger falls powerless, for the King's ghost appears to her alone. Here the author confuses his borrowings and shows a knowledge of both *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. Whereas in *Hamlet* the ghost uses the words, " Remember me,"[17] here it is:

[15] *Hamlet*, I, i, ll 128–138.
[16] *Prince of Parthia*, I, ii.
[17] *Hamlet*, I, v, ll 90–111.

"Think, think on me, I sink to rise again,
To play in blood before thy aking sight,
And shock thy guilty soul with hell-born horrors.
Think, think of Artabanas! and despair."[18]

In *Hamlet,* the ghost whets his son's purpose, here it hinders his queen's evil designs and she is powerless to strike. The ghost is visible to her alone, as in *Macbeth* and in *Hamlet* when the Prince is with Gertrude.

ARSACES:
"Your eyes seem fix'd upon some dreadful object,
Horror and anguish cloath your whitened face."[19]

. . . . . .

QUEEN: What! Saw'st thou nothing?
ARSACES: Nothing.
QUEEN: Nor heard?
ARSACES: Nor heard.[20]

Before the affrighted Queen can leave the prison, the ghost appears a second time, and in describing this our poet uses one line from *Macbeth*:

"Ha! it comes again—see, it glides along—
See, see, what streams of blood flow from its wounds!

. . . . . .

Ah! frown not on me.
Why dost thou shake thy horrid locks at me,[21]
Can I give immortality? 'Tis gone,
It flies me. See, ah! stop it, stop it, haste!"

[18] *Prince of Parthia,* IV, v.
[19] *Prince of Parthia,* IV, v.
[20] *Hamlet,* III, iv, ll 129–135.
H. Do you see nothing there?
Q. Nothing at all; yet all that is I see.
H. Nor did you nothing hear?
Q. No, nothing but ourselves.
[21] *Macbeth,* III, iv, l 50–1:
"Never shake
Thy gory locks at me."

From fright and anguish the Queen falls dead. Arsaces, left in prison and ignorant of his father's death, dreams that the king is being drowned by his evil queen in a bloody sea, and he is powerless to help him.[22] Bethas, the captive father of the maiden, bewails his lost condition in the manner of Cardinal Wolsey,[23] and dies.

> " Trust not too much, vain Monarch, to your power,
> Know fortune places all her choicest gifts
> On ticklish heights, they shake with ev'ry breeze,
> And oft some rude wind hurls them to the ground."[24]

The loyal soldiers of the King, in company with the third brother, come to the rescue of the prince, storm the castle, kill the pretender and send for Evanthe, to whom is being sung this soft air:[25]

> " Tell me, Phillis, tell me why,
> You appear so won'drous coy,
> When that glow, and sparkling eye,
> Speak you want to taste the joy?
> Prithee give this fooling o'er,
> Nor torment your lover more.
>
> While youth is warm within our veins,
> And nature tempts us to be gay,
> Give to pleasure loose the reins,
> Love and youth fly swift away,
> Youth in pleasure should be spent,
> Age will come, we'll then repent."

The battle is reported to Evanthe by one watching in the tower, and thinking her lover is killed, she drinks poison.

[22] *Julius Caesar,* II, ii, ll 76–79.
[23] *Henry VIII,* III, ii, ll 366–370.
[24] *Prince of Parthia,* I, v, p. 121.
[25] This appearance of a gentle song in a scene of such bloodshed reminds one of T. Heywood, who in his *Rape of Lucreece* (1608), interfuses love songs, drinking odes, pastoral ditties, elegies, and innumerable rhymes.

He arrives in time to see her die, and in his ravings reminds us of Lear,[26]

> "All my joys are flown.
> Now burst, ye elements, from your restraint,
> Let order cease, and chaos be again,
> Break, break, tough heart."[27]

Arsaces stabs himself; the third brother, the only survivor of the royal family, repairs to the Temple of the Sun.

There are many felicitous sentences and passages, the sources of some of which are easily perceived.

> "Ingratitude,
> Thou hell-born fiend, how horrid is thy form!"[28]

may be compared with Lear's words,

> "Ingratitude, thou marble-hearted fiend,
> More hideous . . . than the sea-monster."[29]

The resemblance of the following is apparent: "My soul is harsh with jarring discord,"[30] to "My soul is full of discord and dismay";[31] "All that thou canst aid him with is pray'r,"[32] to "Prayers and wishes are all I can return";[33] "Let victory sit on his warlike helm,"[34] to "Fortune and victory sit on thy helm";[35] "This night shall sleep be stran-

[26] *Prince of Parthia,* V, v.
[27] *Lear,* III, ii, ll 1–18:
> "Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow!
> . . . And thou, all-shaking thunder,
> Strike flat the thick rotundity o' the world!
> . . . Spit, fire! spout, rain!
> . . .Let fall
> Your horrible pleasure."

[28] *Prince of Parthia,* I, i.
[29] *Lear,* I, iv, ll 253–5.
[30] *Prince of Parthia,* I, i.
[31] *Hamlet,* IV, i, l 45.
[32] *Prince of Parthia,* V, iv.
[33] *Henry VIII,* II, iii, ll 70–71.
[34] *Prince of Parthia,* V, iv.
[35] *Richard* III, V, iii, l 84.

ger to these eyes, Peace dwells not here, and slumber flies the shock,"[36] to Macbeth's words, "Still it cried 'Sleep no more'! to all the house."[37]

Godfrey's characters are consistent and the scenes are often pathetic. In attempting a likeness of the Queen to Lady Macbeth he failed. She is strongest in her invectives against her father and her enemies; she approaches, in this, Margaret and Lady Anne in *Richard III*,[38]

> "'Tis thou, insulting Prince, 'tis thou hast dragg'd
> My soul, just rising, down again to earth,
> And clogg'd her wings with dull mortality,
> A hateful bondage!"[39]

Arsaces struggles to be noble, but the outline of his personality is dim and faint. Evanthe is sweet and pure, but lacks life and vigor. The drama is a cento of *Julius Caesar, Hamlet, Macbeth, Richard III.* and *Henry VIII.* transplanted to the Orient. It bears many resemblances to Congreve's *Mourning Bride.* Godfrey has not borrowed words or detached situations from the latter, but the general tone and spirit are similar. It must be remembered that Godfrey died in his twenty-seventh year, and that all his work, study and composition were done alone. Had his life been prolonged and his opportunities augmented something better might have resulted. The fact of his being the first adventurer[40] in American tragedy will be remembered.[41]

[36] *Prince of Parthia,* II, i.

[37] *Macbeth,* II, ii, l 41.

[38] *Richard III,* I, ii and iii.

[39] *Prince of Parthia,* II, vi.

[40] *Disenchantment,* or *The Force of Credulity,* a comic opera of two acts, in 1767, New York, signed Andrew Barton, is the work of Colonel Thomas Forrest of Germantown, according to a manuscript note on the title page of a copy owned by the Library Company of Philadelphia. A scheme of four men, Hum, Parchment, Quadrant and Rattletrap, was to discover how far the love of money would carry men. A story of hidden treasure draws all the dupes into the network. Their exposure gives the author an opportunity of contrasting the folly of over-credulity and desire of money-getting with the beauty of contentment, honesty and industry.

[41] For a contemporary appreciation, see Dr. Jacob Duché in *Observations on a Variety of Subjects,* Philadelphia, 1774, p. 190.

Always associated with Godfrey's name is that of his friend, critic, and editor, Nathaniel Evans, who studied the same models, followed similar poetic principles, but confined them to the elaborate ode. Nathaniel Evans, born in Philadelphia, June 8, 1742, received six years of training at the Academy in that city, before being apprenticed to a merchant. At the expiration of this engagement he returned to the college and applied himself so assiduously to philosophy and literature that in 1765, by a special dispensation of the trustees, he was made a master of arts, although the first degree had never been granted him. He sailed for England immediately for confirmation by Dr. Terhune, Bishop of London, who was pleased with an essay on theology which Evans improvised for the occasion. The young man carried with him a certificate[42] from prominent citizens of his native town, which said: "From his known Prudence, Zeal for Religion, Affection to his sacred Majesty's Person and Government . . . as well as from the many Specimens of Genius which he has already shewn; We have the utmost Reason to hope that he will be led by Principle and the Goodness of his own Heart, to exert himself thro' Life in the sacred Office."

After a visit of seven months he returned home and entered on his pastoral employment as missionary for Gloucester County, New Jersey, and chaplain to Lord Viscount Kilmorey of Ireland. This post he filled until his death, October 29th, 1767. His two years of active service proved to his friends his talents and piety, and made his death at twenty-five the more deplorable. His manuscripts were left to his friends, Mrs. Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson and Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania; the latter edited them. The preface, written by

[42] See preface to N. Evans's *Poems on Several Occasions*, John Dunlap, Philadelphia, 1772.

Evans, gives his ideas of the sacred art: "The prose writer may indeed warm his reader with a serene and steady fire; he may keep up his attention with the energetic, the flowing period. But the poet's it is to wrap him in a flame,—to dissolve him, as it were, in his own rapturous blaze." Evans's ambition is displayed in a poem, *Daphnis and Menalcas,* 1758:

"Shall this new world ne'er feel the Muse's fire,
No beauties charm us, or no deeds inspire?
O Pennsylvania! shall no son of thine
Glow with the raptures of the sacred nine?

. . . . . .

Fired with the thought, I court the Sylvan Muse,
Her magic influence o'er me to diffuse."

His youthful compositions consist of odes and occasional verse, partly elegiac and partly light and sentimental. The elegies are not noteworthy. *To the Memory of General Wolfe,* in stanzas of eight, twelve, and sixteen lines, with irregular rhymes, is a panegyric, based on *Lycidas;* a second to Theophilus Grew, a former professor, is more tender; the best is that to Godfrey, which is marked with deep feeling and with appreciation of his young friend. The thought might be applied to both writer and subject:

"How did we hope—alas! the hope how vain!
To hear thy future more enripen'd strain;
When fancy's fire with judgment had combined
To guide each effort of the enraptured mind."

Bright little odes to Sylvia, Mira, and Clarinda and *A Morning Invitation* to two young ladies to visit the Gloucester Spring are full of Collins. It is pleasant to note the light, easy touch he gives to his enthusiastic nature passages:

"These are Aurora's rural sweets—
Fresh dew-drops, flowers and green retreats,

Perfume the balmy air;
Rise then and greet the new-born day,
Rise, fair ones, join the linnet's lay,
And Nature's pleasures share."[43]

and his love of flowers:

" May, with gentle plastic hand,
Clothes in flowery robe the land;
O'er the vales the cowslip spreads,
And eglantine beneath the shades;
Violets blue he brings each fountain,
Woodbines lace each steepy mountain;
Hyacinths their sweets diffuse,
And the rose its blush renews;
With the rest of Flora's train,
Decking lowly dale or plain."[44]

His appreciation of music is shown in the poem to Benjamin Franklin, which was occasioned by hearing him play on the harmonica, an arrangement of glasses invented by the performer:

" Hark! the soft warblings, sounding smooth and clear,
Strike with celestial ravishment the ear,
Conveying inward as they sweetly roll,
A tide of melting music to the soul;
And sure if aught of mortal-moving strain,
Can touch with joy the high angelic train,
'Tis this enchanting instrument of thine,
Which speaks in accents more than half divine."

If this even approach the truth, it is not surprising that Leigh Hunt[45] related the anecdote that the music of Dr. Franklin, awakening the latter's wife, was mistaken for

[43] *The Morning Invitation*, verse eight.
[44] *Hymn to May*, verse one.
[45] Leigh Hunt's *Autobiography*, Vol. 2, p. 82.

that of angels. The writer adds that Franklin offered to teach the guitar to Mrs. Hunt, but that she was too bashful to become his pupil.

Evans was ready with a verse for any pleasant occasion. Whether reviewing the occurrences of the year for the newsboys,[46] writing a dialogue or an ode[47] for commencement, or a rhymed oration[48] for general entertainment, he was at ease. In his longer odes he was more ambitious. One, written in the manner of Horace, to his friend, Godfrey, shows the even tempered spirit of the young poet:

> "Then may we both, in time retreat
> To some fair villa, sweetly neat,
> To entertain the muses;
> And then life's noise and trouble leave—
> Supremely blest, we'll never grieve
> At what the world refuses."

An Ode on the Prospect of Peace, 1761, written at the age of nineteen, is patterned after Collins and Gray:

> "Bounteous peace with lavish hand,
> To every shore thy blessings strew,
> O veil the blood-polluted land,
> And all thy grateful joys renew.
> . . . . . .
> Till shepherds quaff untainted streams,
> And hinds enjoy their native glades;
> Till the glad muses strike the lyre,
> And virtuous social deeds inspire;
> Till the loud drum no more shall bid to arms prepare
> Nor brazen trumpets breathe the horrid din of war."

[46] *Verses for the New Year,* 1762 and 1763.
[47] *An Exercise,* May 17, 1763.
[48] *Oration on Science* for the College of Philadelphia.

After having driven away war's train and reviewed Britannia's glory, he writes:

"O peace, thou nymph divine, draw near!
Here let the muses fix their reign,
And crown with fame each rolling year.
Source of joy and genuine pleasure,
Queen of quiet, queen of leisure,
Haste thy votaries to cheer!"

Now we are reminded of his pride and hope in his native land:

"Cherish'd beneath thy hallow'd rule,
Shall Pennsylvania's glory rise;
Her sons, bred up in Virtue's school,
Shall lift her honors to the skies."

While little originality can be claimed for Evans, we find in him a delicate and refined mind, a strong love and appreciative feeling for the beauties of poetry. By his study of Horace, Milton, Collins, and Gray, he attained some degree of sprightliness, elegance, and polish. His cheerfulness and gaiety were unusual for American clergymen. Since he served in this capacity, however, less than two years, the greater part of his poetry was probably composed prior to his ordination.

Evans was never married, but he enjoyed a truly Petrarchan friendship with a woman who became an interesting figure during the Revolution. On the ship coming home from England, he was introduced to Miss Elizabeth Graeme, of Philadelphia, a daughter of Thomas Graeme,[49] physician and collector of customs, and a granddaughter, on her mother's side, of Sir William Keith. Miss Graeme was born in 1739 and early evinced uncommon

[49] See Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. 2, p. 1579.

ability. At seventeen she became betrothed to a young man of the city, who went to England for the study of law and never fulfilled his engagement. The following three years she devoted to a translation of Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* into English heroic verse. In the introduction, written 1769, she "is sensible the translation has little merit," but that "it is sufficient for her that it amused her in a period that would have been pensive and solitary without a pursuit."

Her health declined and she was sent abroad for a year[50] in company with Dr. Richard Peters of Philadelphia, whose connections obtained for her introductions to some prominent persons. George III. noticed her particularly. Laurence Sterne became interested in her. "She took a seat upon the same stage with him at the York races. While bets were making upon different horses, she selected a small horse that was in the rear of the courses as the subject of a trifling wager. Upon being asked the reason for doing so, she said 'the race was not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.' Mr. Sterne, who stood near to her, was struck with this reply, and turning hastily toward her, begged for the honor of her acquaintance. They soon became sociable, and a good deal of pleasant conversation took place between them to the great entertainment of the surrounding company." [51] She met Dr. Fothergill, the scientist, and continued a correspondence with him until his death. Her journal of this year contains contrasted descriptions of English and Colonial society, which lack the humor of Hopkinson's comparisons.

[50] It is related that her mother, fearing her own death, did not want the daughter at home, lest her presence should distract the parent's attention from heaven and wean her heart too much from the love of God.

[51] Hazard's *Register*, Vol. 4, p. 394. The letters are yet unpublished, but remain the property of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Among them is an epitaph on Dr. Fothergill. See Chapter V, page 121.

It was on her way home that she met Evans. Their versified correspondence followed,—occasioned by her parody on the lines from Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard,* beginning

> "How happy is the blameless vestal's lot?
> The world forgetting, by the world forgot,"

for which she substituted,—

> "How happy is the country Parson's lot?
> Forgetting Bishops, as by them forgot;
> Tranquil of spirit, with an easy mind,
> To all his vestry's votes he sits resign'd;
> Of manners gentle and of temper even,
> He jogs his flocks, with easy pace, to heaven.
> In Greek and Latin, pious books he keeps;
> And while his clerk sings psalms, he—soundly sleeps.
> His garden fronts the sun's sweet orient beams,
> And fat church-wardens prompt his golden dreams.
> The earliest fruit, in his fair orchard, blooms,
> And cleanly pipes pour out tobacco's fumes.
> From rustic bridegroom oft he takes the ring;
> And hears the milk-maid plaintive ballads sing,
> Back-gammon cheats whole winter nights away,
> And Pilgrim's Progress helps a rainy day."

This Evans accepts good-humoredly and replies:

> "I lately saw, no matter where,
> A parody by Laura fair;
> In which beyond dispute, 'tis clear,
> She means her country friend to jeer;"

He excuses himself for the offences she hurled against him, and says he is only happy when the idea of a refined nymph comes into his mind, and closes his epistle with this bit of generosity:

"Yet, if the happiness, fair maid,
That soothes me in the silent shade,
Should, in your eye appear, too great,
Come, take it all—and share my fate!"

In reply she shows herself versatile and laughs at her "saucy" friend for his presumption,—

"Unhappy me! who ne'er could dream,
That you should think yourself the theme."

At last she defines her position,

"Let friendship, gen'rous friendship, be
The bond to fetter you and me,
Vestal, Platonic—what you will,
So virtue reigns with freedom still."

This subdued him; he craved her mercy and promised to remain her slave. This correspondence is included in the collection of Evans's poems and, because of its place in Duyckinck,[52] is better known than anything else of either writer.

Continuing the story of Miss Graeme, we find it stated that she filled a brilliant place in society. Her father's home at Graeme Park[53] was one of the most noted in Pennsylvania for gatherings of gifted men. Here she met Hugh Henry Ferguson, a Scotchman, ten years her junior. They were married in 1775, and settled at Graeme Park, which Mrs. Ferguson had inherited. This union lasted only a short time, for her husband accepted a commission in the British army and was attainted of treason to the American Government. She remained at her home and busied herself in

[52] See Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature,* Vol. 1, pp. 234–5.
[53] See Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia,* Vol. 2, p. 1119.
[54] Duyckinck records a large gift of linen to American prisoners and the eighth of her income to a ruined merchant. See Vol. 1, p. 233.

acts of benevolence[54] to the soldiers of both armies. In the history of the Revolution she is remembered as the bearer of an offensive letter from the Rev. Dr. Duché to General Washington. This is the famous letter urging the latter to abandon the rebel cause and submit himself to the British Government. Although Washington highly disapproved of her part in this, she was also [55] concerned in the proposal of Governor Johnston to give Joseph Reed "ten thousand guineas and the best post in the government" to exert his influence with Washington. Mrs. Ferguson reported in a narrative, published in her defence, the famous reply from Reed,[56] "The King of Great Britain has nothing within his gift that would tempt me."

In 1778 she was refused permission to pass through the lines and bid farewell to her husband in New York. She never saw him again. Her home was seized as his property, but upon her petition, an occupancy for life was allowed her. In comparative poverty, she returned to the study of Fénelon and re-wrote the four volumes of twenty years before. "At the worst I would recommend it as a good narcotic which may administer comfort to all those who are in want of sleep."[57] The twenty-four books[58] in twenty-nine thousand six hundred lines, have never been printed, but are deposited with the Library Company of Philadelphia. In the Invocation she implores,[59]

[55] See *Life of Joseph Reed* by Wm. B. Reed, Vol. 1, p. 384. Sparks' *Washington*, Vol. 5, pp. 95 and 476. *American Remembrancer*, Vol, 6. p. 236. Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. 2, p. 1691.

[56] *Remarks on Governor Johnson's Speech in Parliament* with a collection of the letters and papers relating to his offer to Joseph Reed. . . . Philadelphia, 1779.

[57] Some selections are in Griswold's *Female Poets of America*, pp. 26–7.

[58] See the Manuscript Writings.

[59] Fénelon had long been a favorite with the colonists in Pennsylvania. A. S. Bradford published his *Dissertation on Pure Love* in 1738; the volume can now be seen in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Other editions followed in 1750, 1756, 1760 and 1766. *Télémaque* was reprinted in French, 1784, but imported copies had been advertised since 1765.

"Grave Wisdom, guardian of modest youth,
Thou soul of knowledge and thou source of truth,
Inspire my muse, and animate her lays,
That she harmonious may chant thy praise."

But her own struggles are seen below,

"Passion and Wisdom hold perpetual strife
Through the strange mazes of man's checquered life,
Of all the evils our frail nature knows,
The most acute from Love's emotions flows."

It is claimed that she copied the whole Bible to impress it more firmly on her memory.[60] She died in 1801.

Joshua Francis Fisher wrote of her in 1831:[61] "Mrs. Ferguson is said to have been a lady of fine talents, of refined delicacy, exquisite sensibility, and romantic generosity; several of her friends are still living, who remember with delight, her noble disposition, her agreeable conversation, and her amusing eccentricities." However cultivated a woman[62] she may have been, her gift in poetry must be doubted.[63] While fluent and of fine feeling, her verse lacks most of the elements of real worth.

[60] Defoe, set to the same task in his youth, does not seem to have completed it. The commonplace book of Mrs. Ferguson, the property of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has written in it many of her paraphrases of the Psalms of David.

[61] See the "Early Poets of Pennsylvania" in *Memoirs of the Historical Society*, Vol. 2, part 2, p. 90. It is said that her nephew, John Young, when twelve years old, was closeted in the library for twenty-four hours as a punishment, but became so interested in a book that in due time he became a student. He translated D'Argent's *Ancient Geography*, a copy of which is owned by the Library Company of Philadelphia. It contains a tribute by Mrs. Ferguson. He died a lieutenant in the British army.

[62] Francis Hopkinson wrote a sincere tribute to Mrs. Ferguson while on a visit to Graeme Park in 1765.

[63] Her niece, Mrs. Ann Young Smith, wife of Dr. William Smith, wrote an elegy to the American Volunteers who fell at Lexington. See *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 1, p. 461.

CHAPTER V

LITERARY PRODUCTIONS OF THE REVOLUTION

Condition of Colonies—Abolitionists—Saundiford, Lay, Benezet—Proud's *History*—Edwards—Bartram, *Observations,* etc.—Revolutionary Writings—Dickinson, Life and Training, *The Farmer's Letters,* Service—Galloway, Writings—Paine, *Common Sense,* Condition of Army, *Crisis,* Later Works—Hopkinson, *The Pretty Story,* Satirical Letters and Essays, Verse, *The Battle of the Kegs*—Stansbury, Verses, Characteristics—Clergymen—Duché—Coombe—Brackenridge, *Discourses, Modern Chivalry*—Smith, Work—White, Wordsworth's Sonnet—Satiric Drama—*The Fall of British Tyranny, The Battle of Bunker Hill, The Death of General Montgomery*—Summary.

As late as 1760 the colonies were loyal to the English Crown, but the different interpretations of taxation and parliamentary representation gave rise to honest misunderstandings. The American conception of legal rights differed from the English, and each country believed in self-assertion and independence. The controversial struggle, from the passage of the Stamp Act (1765) to the Declaration of Independence (1776), and the actual strife from 1775 to 1783 naturally kept men busy. There were some historical and scientific writings, some essays and poems, but the great mass of early Revolutionary matter was political, dealing with the treatment which the colonies had received and the efforts at an understanding and reconciliation. When that failed to accomplish its purpose, and war literature was needed, men wrote an abundance of it, and by brisk, pungent prose or rollicking burlesque, moved their countrymen to action. After the war these same men set about the work of reconstruction, the restoration of

normal conditions and the establishment of those principles in which they believed and for which they had fought. Such other literature as was the work of the Revolutionists will be considered at this time. On the whole, it may be said that during this exciting period Pennsylvania had an enormous influence; the breadth of view, the training and study of her statesmen, giving them a deeper insight and a clearer grasp of the movement than was known in more isolated sections.

Before considering the controversial writings, let us glance at the earlier productions of the period. The tendency to oppose unfavorable conditions was seen in the resistance to slavery, first spoken against by Pastorius and by George Keith, who delivered an essay on the subject at a religious meeting in 1693. Even though the minister was later counted a heretic,[1] this sermon was remembered, and was helpful in accentuating the principle which, along with opposition to the war, became a cardinal point with the Quakers. Three men emphasized the doctrine, Saundiford, who distributed books and pamphlets; Lay, an eccentric old fellow, who railed on meat, tea, and slaves, and Benezet, an earnest and successful advocate of abolition.

Ralph Saundiford (1693–1733), of Liverpool, became, after his emigration to Pennsylvania, a farmer and preacher. He published *A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times,* Philadelphia, 1729, of which Franklin says he distributed gratis two editions. Franklin called him "pious and enlightened," but Saundiford was generally regarded as a fanatic. Benjamin Lay (1677–1759) removed to Pennsylvania in 1731 from Barbadoes, where objections had been made to his principles of abolition. When Franklin, in 1736, attempted to print his work, *All Slave-Keepers*

[1] See Chapter 1, p. 6.

. . . *Apostates,* he told the author that his manuscript was deficient in arrangement. " It is no matter," calmly replied Lay, " print any part thou pleasest first." [2]

These philanthropists merely kept alive the subject, but Anthony Benezet (1713–1784) started a definite movement. From 1739–1755 he had taught in private and public schools and led a retired life; after this he was so affected by the iniquity of the slave trade, that he devoted his life to abolition. His *Caution and Warning to Great Britain and the Colonies,* 1767, is a collection of the opinions of prominent men against slavery, and stories of unjust purchase and treatment, to which he added a personal appeal. The *History of the Slave Trade in Africa,* 1762, and a *History of the Slave Trade in Guinea,* 1772, were used by Clarkson[3] in 1785 in the preparation of his Senior Latin Dissertation on slavery, at the University of Cambridge.

In addition, Benezet printed and circulated at his own expense many pamphlets, besides making use of almanacs and newspapers for publishing his essays and stories. He wrote letters to the Queens of England, France, and Portugal, to the Countess of Huntington, and to many politicians of various countries. During the session of the Legislature of 1780, which, on March 1st, passed the first act definitely abolishing slavery in Pennsylvania, he interviewed every member. His *History of the Quakers,* 1780, outlines his views with regard to war as an unjustifiable measure. His works have no literary value. By means of a plain, concise style he appealed to many readers in England and America and had a marked success in moulding public opinion.

[2] *Memoirs of the Lives of B. Lay and R. Saundiford,* by Robert Vaux, Philadelphia, 1815.

[3] *Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species,* in three parts, was translated from the Latin by Thomas Clarkson, 1785, and published in Philadelphia, 1786. He refers to the work of John Woolman and Anthony Benezet.

The historian of the province, Roberd Proud (1728–1813), removed to Philadelphia in 1759 from London, where he taught the two sons of Timothy Beran and studied medicine. He resided for a time with his friend Anthony Benezet, and taught Latin and Greek in the Friends' School until the Revolution. *The History of Pennsylvania* from 1681 till the year 1742, was composed between 1776 and 1780 and published in 1797. This work, a very important contribution to knowledge of the period, evinces much research, but is often confused and usually uninteresting. It contains extensive quotations from laws, charters, and other documents. In addition, there are a few mediocre poems.[4] *Vox Naturæ*, an elegy, depicts Proud's longing for England; a *Plaintive Essay*, 1781, in meditative, as is the *Ode to Divine Wisdom*. A religious poem, beginning, "God of my life, whose pow'r divine," is more dignified.[5]

Another historian was Morgan Edwards (1722–1795), a Welshman, in charge of the Baptist church in Philadelphia. He planned twelve volumes on the Baptists in the colonies, but published only two, on Rhode Island and Pennsylvania. In these he spoke fully of the sects, the pioneer preachers, the local and personal details, "collected partly from knowledge, partly from church works, and partly from informations."

The early traveller and botanist, John Bartram (1699–1777), bred a farmer, established a garden for native and exotic vegetables, flowers and trees. A particular friend of his, Joseph Breintnall, took a collection of the specimens to Peter Collinson, the London naturalist. In this way, Bartram became rather well known abroad and was appointed

[4] The Poems are in the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, p. 486.

[5] Notices of the *Life and Character of R. Proud*, by C. W. Thompson, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 474.

botanist and naturalist for the American lands to the King of England. His letters from Collinson, Grovius, Sir Hans Sloane, and Linnaeus show their esteem of his work. Bartram's *Observations,*[6] London, 1751, reported the many curious forms of plant and animal life met with in his travels from Pennsylvania to Canada in 1743.[7] This book[8] has not the literary flavor we shall find in the work of his son, yet it shows Bartram to have been keen and discriminating. "The descent was moderate, the land middling, oak, chestnut, and huckle-berries; we found a Run here and reposed ourselves for the night, having supped on venison shot by our Indians; who left us on the hill that evening. It was fair and pleasant, and the great, green grass-hopper began to sing (Cate-didist)."[9]

But to turn from this general survey to the definite subject of the chapter, perhaps the first character to interest us is John Dickinson (1732–1808). He was born in Maryland, was taught by William Killen, an Irishman, until he was eighteen, and then put into the law office of John Moland, of Philadelphia. In 1753 Dickinson was sent to London to be entered in the Middle Temple, as was somewhat customary for the sons of the colonial planters who wished to complete a legal training. Among his English fellow-students were Edward Thurlow, later Lord Chancellor; Kenyon, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; John Hill, later Earl of Hillsborough, and William Cowper, the poet.[10]

[6] The *Observations* contains an account of Niagara Falls by Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller, written in a letter to Bartram.

[7] In William Stork's *Account of East Florida,* designed to interest Englishmen in the land, was published the *Journal* of Bartram, kept when he went up the St. John's river.

[8] The manuscript journal of J. Bartram, 1765, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,—the gift of William Darlington.

[9] Bartram's *Observations,* p. 70.

[10] A list of the one hundred and fifteen American students of law in the English Inns of Court from 1760 to the close of the Revolution, shows South Carolina to have had forty-seven, Virginia twenty-one, Maryland sixteen, Pennsylvania eleven,

The great proportion of lawyers of English training in the central colonies probably accounts in part for their wishing to make in the beginning of the struggle a constitutional resistance, while New England favored revolution and an early independence. In 1757 Dickinson returned to Philadelphia and began the practice of his profession. In 1760 he became a member of the Assembly from Delaware; and in 1762 a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, for these states often interchanged public men.[11]

The Paxton massacre of the Indians in Lancaster, December, 1763, had so excited the people as to be made a political issue. The Episcopalians and Presbyterians approved it and supported the mob. The Quakers and anti-proprietary party denounced both the mob and the government. Being in the majority, they decided to petition the King to make Pennsylvania a royal colony. To them Pennsylvania seemed unable to command authority and to maintain peace. Pamphlets and broadsides were written freely on the subject. Franklin's *Cool Thoughts* reviewed the causes of the dispute. The debate in the Assembly was carried on by Dickinson in behalf of the proprietary government, and by Galloway in behalf of the King. Galloway won and the petition was made to the King. Before the annual election Dickinson[12] published his speech as a campaign document. The preface is thought to be the work of Provost Smith. Galloway followed

New York five, and each of the other states one or two. The same is true in medicine. A List of the Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, printed by Neill & Company, 1867, shows that of sixty-three Americans to receive the degree of M.D. between 1758 and 1788, only one was from New England. See J. Stillé's *Life and Times of J. Dickinson*, pp. 26–7.

[11] In 1703 Delaware established a separate legislature but acknowledged the authority of the governor of Pennsylvania until the Revolution.

[12] *The British Parentage and Education of Praise-God Barebones*, with an election Ballad, Philadelphia, 1766, referring to Dickinson's defeat, was probably by Isaac Hunt. This ballad is a lamentation of Miss ———————— on being disappointed by Johnny Vain (Dickinson); he, sure of election, had engaged the lady as his partner at the dance.

the example, and had Franklin write a sarcastic preface to his argument. Although no longer a member of the Assembly, Franklin was appointed to present the petition to the King.

Dickinson was sent as delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, October 5, 1764, and as leader of the Pennsylvania opposition to the Act, formulated a genuine Bill of Rights. While the taxes were yet being discussed and the people puzzled over the issue, there appeared in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle & Gazette* of December 3rd, 1767, the first of a series of essays destined to have great influence upon American affairs, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the inhabitants of the British Colonies.* This was the first of three important books of the period which purported to have been written by farmers. Dickinson's letters were followed by *A Westchester Farmer,* in four numbers, from November, 1774, to January, 1775, by Samuel Seabury of Westchester, New York; this was succeeded by *The Letters from an American Farmer,* 1782, by J. Hector St. John de Crèvecœur, mainly descriptive of nature and provincial life in Pennsylvania, with one letter (12th) on the horrors of the war and its effects on the inhabitants.

Dickinson's first letter opened as follows: "My Beloved Countrymen,—I am a farmer, settled after a variety of fortunes, near the banks of the river Delaware, in the Province of Pennsylvania. I received a liberal education, and have been engaged in the busy scenes of life; but am now convinced that a man may be as happy without bustle, as with it. . . . From my infancy I was taught to love humanity and liberty. . . . There is a late act of parliament, which appears to me to be unconstitutional and as destructive to the liberty of these colonists," etc. He then explained the nature of the controversy, the injustice of the King and presented

his remedy. "Let us behave like dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved parent. Let us complain to our parent; but let our complaints speak at the same time the language of affection and veneration. If, however, it shall happen by an unfortunate course of affairs, that our applications to his Majesty . . . prove ineffectual, let us then take another step, by withholding from Great Britain all the advantages she has been used to receive from us."

He showed the value of the colonies to England and the need of a liberal policy in trade, being of the opinion that a plan of conciliation would soon be agreed upon. He added, however, "Let these truths be indelibly impressed on our minds, that we cannot be happy without being free—that we cannot be free, without being secure in our property—that we cannot be secure in our property, if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away." He ended the letter thus: "You have nothing to do, but to conduct your affairs peaceably—prudently—firmly—jointly. By these means you will support the character of freemen, without losing that of faithful subjects. For my part I am resolved to contend for the liberty delivered down to me by my ancestors; but whether I shall do it effectually or not, depends on you, my countrymen."

Nearly every newspaper in the country printed the letters, and they appeared frequently as a pamphlet.[13] In the Dublin edition there was a preface by Franklin, who wished to correct popular prejudices against the colonists. The French translation, by Jean Barbeu Dubourg, who later translated Franklin, states that thirty editions had appeared in America in six months, but the newspaper reprints must be included to make that statement correct. Thus, on both sides

[13] Boston, Philadelphia, New York, London, Dublin, 1768; Philadelphia, Williamsburg (Virginia), and Amsterdam, 1769; Philadelphia and London, 1774.

of the Atlantic, the Farmer's words received great attention. In America the letters became a political text-book until the war was imminent. They were considered " very mild " by Lord Hillsborough:[14] " Many called them treasonable and seditious, yet Edmund Burke approved their principles. Translated into French, they were much read in Parisian salons; their author was compared with Cicero; Voltaire joined the praise of the Farmer of Pennsylvania with that of the Russians, who aspired to liberate Greece."[15] The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon Dickinson by the College of New Jersey; many public honors, such as membership in clubs, resolutions from organizations, banquets, songs, etc., were given him.

In the Boston *Gazette* of July 18th, 1768, James Otis published a *Song for American Freedom,* which Dickinson had composed and sent him. The author apologized for the " boldness " of his "numbers, but as indifferent songs are very powerful on certain occasions," he ventured " to invoke the deserted muses." Enthusiasm and patriotism, rather than any poetic merit, made a hearty appeal for it, and it became a popular lyric throughout the Revolution. It contains the line, " By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall."

Dickinson was made a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1774 and was a leading spirit until June, 1776, by which time he had prepared many of the important documents of that body. He remained unmoved in his opinion that the Declaration of Independence was too hasty a step and refused to give his vote in its favor. He was unpopular for a time,[16] but his praiseworthy conduct in leading a

[14] Stillé's *Life and Times of J. Dickinson,* p. 92.

[15] George Bancroft, *History of the United States,* sixteenth edition, Vol. 1, 149.

[16] Jefferson declared the *Farmer's Letters* had been an " ignis fatuus," " misleading us from true principles." See *Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* Vol. 1, p. 486. John Adams thought " he had given a silly cast to our whole doings." See *Letter of John Adams to His Wife,* Vol. 1, p. 268. *Letters of John Macpherson* and *A Pennsylvania Sailor's Letters alias the Farmer's Fall,* Philadelphia, 1770.

brigade to immediate service was admired by all. After his reinstatement in favor he became one of the most influential members of the Convention that framed the Constitution, was Governor of Delaware in 1781, and of Pennsylvania, 1782–85. During this time, 1783, he assisted in founding and endowing the college in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, named after him. In the nine letters, signed Fabius, published shortly after the adjournment of the Convention, he appeared as a champion of the ratification of the new Constitution. These essays display no partisan feeling, and appeal in a somewhat general way to a more popular audience than did the *Federalist*. He is said to have been the author of the scheme of double representation in Congress,—a Senator from the states and a representative from the people. In 1798 his loyalty to France and his desire for our continued alliance with her caused him to write a second series of letters signed Fabius.

Dickinson was not understood in his day. Greatly admired until 1776, he was then grievously blamed for daring to oppose the general wishes. After he had yielded in defeat, and served in the war as a private, honorably and faithfully, men respected his courage. Trained as he was in England, loyal to the Crown, unable to see our ability in immediate defence, calm in temperament, peaceful in tastes, he stood in strong contrast to other leaders, who were more violent, but whose work was no more valuable. As the forerunner of Jefferson, as the "penman of the Revolution," as the father of American declamations and collegiate eloquence, his name is kept before us.

Associated with Dickinson's is the name of his early opponent, Joseph Galloway (1729–1803), the friend of Franklin and the careless keeper of his papers. He came into notice in the Assembly, of which he was a member from 1757

to 1774, when he opposed Dickinson regarding the transfer of the province from the control of the Penn family to the Crown.[17] When the colonies became more and more grieved with the conduct of the Crown, Galloway felt that the misunderstanding was owing to the lack of proper constitutional organization and of worthy recognition in Parliament. Acting on these ideas, he presented to the First Continental Congress (September 28th, 1774) a *Plan for the Proposed Union* between Great Britain and the Colonies, whereby the latter would be retained in semi-allegiance to the former, be governed by a President-General, who would be appointed by the King, and by a Grand Council, chosen for a period of three years by the Assemblies of the various colonies. Although the plan received warm support, it was lost in the final vote by six to five.[18]

Galloway felt it prudent to decline re-election to Congress, and devoted his energies to averting independence,—to him an unwise and illegal step. For this purpose he wrote *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and the Colonies;* although a loyalist, he considered the rights of both sides, and insisted that unless Americans had the right to favor or oppose all bills relating to their own conduct, some day they would gain that independence, which was then an "ill-shapen, diminutive brat."[19] He wishes them to "pull down the licentious tyranny they have established," . . . "in a respectful and dutiful manner, to petition his majesty," and adds that all will "finally terminate in a full redress of your grievances and a permanent system of union and harmony, upon principles of liberty and

[17] This speech of May 24, 1764, was published in German and English, Philadelphia, 1764.

[18] This can be read in *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and the Colonies,* or in *Observations on the Reconciliation of Great Britain and the Colonies.*

[19] *Examination,* etc., p. 42.

safety."[20] It was a strong argument, but too late to be effective. He realized the strength of the opposition, and retired to his country place, where his old friend Franklin visited him and tried in vain to convert him to the side of the colonists. In December, 1777, Galloway openly joined the royalists in New York and proceeded with them to Philadelphia, where he was appointed superintendent of the police. When the British evacuated Philadelphia, he accompanied the army to New York, and sailed thence to England, where he remained until his death.

In England he wrote the majority of his pamphlets. Of greatest interest to us are the *Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Revolution,* and *Cool Thoughts on the Consequences;* a second group exposed the mismanagement, indifference, and probable disloyalty of British officers in charge of the war; *A Letter to the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Howe, Examination of J. G. . . . before the House of Commons, An Account of the Conduct of the War,* and *Letters from Cicero to Catiline the Second.* "Upon these facts then let impartial Britons decide, whether there is not demonstration itself, that the Admiral intended from the beginning to betray his country to the intrigues of his faction."[21]

The American Government attainted Galloway of treason and confiscated his property, valued at £40,000; he wrote some pamphlets upon the legal claims of the royalists to their possessions, and afterwards his family recovered most of the estate. In his old age he turned from politics to theology and published *Brief Commentaries on the Revelation.* Galloway was an able man, possessed of dignity, calmness, and judgment. His arguments may be best compared with those

[20] *Ibid,* p. 74.

[21] *Cicero's Letters to Catiline Second,* p. 103.

of Daniel Leonard of Massachusetts, who defended the home government so strongly that he was included in the banishment and conspiracy act, and those of Daniel Dulaney of Maryland, who, though strongly loyalist, opposed the Stamp Act.

Late in 1774 there came to Philadelphia from England a young stay-maker and exciseman, introduced to the colonists by Franklin,[22] as 'Thomas Paine, an ingenious, worthy young man, who would be acceptable as a clerk, assistant tutor in a school, or an assistant surveyor.' His previous career had been eventful. Born in 1737 in Norfolk, England, he was sent to the grammar school until he was thirteen, was assistant to his father in stay-making for three years, and at sixteen was allowed to go to sea, returning to England after eleven years. By thirty-seven, having buried one wife and agreeably divorced a second, having been relieved of his government appointment and had his household furniture sold by his creditors, he hoped in coming to America to find a home.

Robert Aitken, the bookseller, was starting a new publication, *The Pennsylvania Magazine* or *The American Museum* (January, 1775), and after the first number Paine was chosen editor, with a salary of fifty pounds a year.[23] In this capacity he served for eighteen months; his articles, anonymous or variously signed, can be recognized only by internal evidence. He wrote against slavery, but was silent on the political situation, being inclined to his mother country, and by parental training opposed to war. "I received the dispute as a kind of law suit, in which, I supposed, the parties would find a way either to decide or settle it. I had no thought of independence or of arms. The world

[22] Letter from Franklin to B. F. Bache, 1774.
[23] *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press,* C. R. Hildeburn, Vol. 2, p. 261.

could not then have persuaded me that I should be either a soldier or an author."[24] The happenings of one year changed his opinions. "But when the country into which I had just set my foot, was set on fire about my ears, it was time to stir. . . . Those who had been long settled, had something to defend; those, who had just come had something to pursue and the call and the concern was equal and universal."

On January 10th, 1776,[26] Robert Bell published in Philadelphia an anonymous pamphlet, *Common Sense,* which embodied the ideas of many unprejudiced men. It was, at first, commonly ascribed to Franklin, or John or Samuel Adams, but was later acknowledged by Paine. This stranger, trained neither in law nor in letters, viewed the situation practically. After outlining his conception of the work of a government, he launches into the present state of affairs in America. He views the royal deeds of recent years, the shame and brutality of the attack and scorns all thought of reconciliation or final affection. "Everything that is right or reasonable pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'Tis time to part.'" He argues[27] that from cosmographical and commercial reasons, only independence will make America a great nation, and offers a rude estimate of her ability and security in war.

With all of its rashness of assertion, its smattering of political philosophy, its homely, blunt style, it was suited to the moment. The people were in desperate need and the forcible earnestness of Paine was felt. This pamphlet came

[24] Paine's *Works,* edited by M. D. Conway, *The Crisis,* number 8, p. 4.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] In the same month and the same city, was issued the first canto of John Trumbull's *McFingal,* the best of all the Revolutionary satires.

[27] *Works of Paine. Common Sense,* Vol. 1, p. 89.

out on the ninth of January; on the twentieth there was a second, and on the twenty-fifth a third edition. Some colonies reprinted it, as well as London, Edinburgh, Rotterdam, and Paris. In three months 120,000 copies were sold, and in six months the Declaration of Independence was signed.[28]

In the summer of 1776[29] Paine enlisted as a private with General Roberdeau's division of the Pennsylvania troops, and later as an aide-de-camp to General Greene. In that succession of disasters, the abandonment of New York and loss of neighboring forts, the retreat through New Jersey and the escape across the Delaware, Paine experienced the suffering and the gloom of the dispirited soldiers. The calamities inspired him to compose a series of invigorating pamphlets, *The Crisis,* begun at New York and continued " at every place we stopt at." The original idea of having thirteen numbers, one for each colony, was changed to sixteen by the addition of a " Crisis Extraordinary," a " Supernumerary Crisis," and an explanation to the editor. They were written between December 19th, 1776, and April 19th, 1783, and published in the *Pennsylvania Journal.*

The first is of special historic interest, since Washington, who thought no such encouragement could be found elsewhere, ordered it to be read before every regiment of the army. Its opening sentence, adopted as a watchword, is thought to have been influential in the ensuing victories.

[28] For contemporary appreciation see:

The letter of General Lee to Washington, in the *Correspondence of the American Revolution,* Vol. 1, p. 136.

The letter of Washington to Joseph Reed in *Washington's Works,* Vol. 3, p. 276.

William Gordon in *American Revolution,* Vol. 2, p. 92.

The letter of Thomas Jefferson to James Madison in *Memoirs of Thomas Jefferson,* Vol. 4, p. 17.

[29] A pithy correspondence was held between Paine and Provost Smith, the leader of the aristocratic Philadelphia Tories, under the signatures of Forester and Cato. The letters were published in *The Pennsylvania Packet,* April 1, 15, 22, and May 20, 1776.

"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. . . . Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its good; and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as Freedom should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right (not only to tax) but to 'bind us in all cases whatsoever,' and if being bound in that manner, is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious; for so unlimited a power can belong only to God. . . . Up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink, . . . 'tis the madness of folly to expect mercy from those who have refused to do justice. . . . By perseverance and fortitude, we have the prospect of a glorious issue; by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils."[30]

Thus the pamphlets continued through the perilous times. The last is a farewell, with congratulatory remarks on the advantages of peace. "The times that tried men's souls are over and the greatest and completest revolution the world ever knew, gloriously and happily accomplished. . . . It was the cause of America that made me author . . . , and if in the course of more than seven years, I have rendered her any service, I have likewise added something to the reputation of literature by freely and disinterestedly employing it in the great cause of mankind. . . . I have most sincerely followed it from beginning to end and through all its turns and windings; and whatever country I may hereafter be in, I shall

[30] Paine's *Works*. *Crisis*, Vol. 1, p. 170.

always feel an honest pride at the part I have taken and acted, and a gratitude to nature and providence for putting it in my power to be of some use to mankind."[31]

During these years, Paine served in various capacities, as secretary to the Committee of Congress for Foreign Affairs, as clerk to the General Assembly, as an aide-de-camp to General Greene and as assistant to Col. John Laurens for securing the loan from France; but however valuable he was in each, his influence as a pamphleteer was more effective. The marvellous power which he wielded over men and events, shows him to have had unusual ability as a journalist. He had an eye for detecting the truth and a knowledge of the power of immediate action. His biting sarcasm, his keen, clear logic, even though expressed in ordinary prose, without unusual diction and beauty of style, made him powerful. It is worth remarking, in view of the obloquy later attaching to his name, that Paine's attitude in his Revolutionary writings was by no means that of a scoffer or an unbeliever: "God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent, neither have I so much of the infidel in me as to suppose that He has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils."[32]

Paine's later literary works we cannot claim, since they were written neither for us nor on our soil. *The Rights of Man*, in reply to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution,* was widely read. Paine's idea of a republican Europe was favored by the people of France. His exile from England, his imprisonment in France (he was released because

[31] Paine's *Works. Crisis,* Vol. 1, p. 376.
[32] Paine's *Works,* Vol. 1, pp. 66–7.

of the importunities of his American friends), embittered his life. In the Luxembourg he wrote *The Age of Reason,* an attack upon revealed religion, filled with coarse and vituperative illustrations and written in a wholly irreverent spirit, which gained the author exceeding unpopularity in England and America. Perhaps the trying conditions under which it was written made him more radical than he had formerly been. To work seven years for the freedom of one country and be plunged in prison,—expecting daily a death sentence for sympathy with that of a second,—is not conducive to optimism. Paine was erratic and peculiar, but only Americans who are ignorant of his aid to us care to remember his frailties.

Following these, and on opposite sides of the contest, were two satirists who moved men to action by ridicule. Francis Hopkinson (1738–1791) is best known as the author of *The Pretty Story* and *The Battle of the Kegs.* A son of Thomas Hopkinson, a friend and helper to Franklin in the day of the Junto, he was in the first class of the College of Philadelphia, 1757. Having read law with Benjamin Chew, he was admitted to the bar in 1761. During this year he acted as secretary at the making of a treaty with the Indians, which event is commemorated in a poem, *The Treaty.* Invited to accompany Redmond Conyngham to Ireland, he visited for fourteen months at Hartlebury Castle his mother's uncle, the Bishop of Worcester. In 1772 he was appointed a commissioner of customs for Newcastle, and in 1774 was given a seat in the Provincial Council; both of these places he resigned at the opening of the war. He became one of the committee to draft the Articles of Confederation, a signer of the Declaration, the head of the Navy Department,[33] Judge of the Admiralty Court of Pennsylvania[34] (1779–1789), and

[33] See *Journal of Congress,* Vol. 2, p. 462.

[34] He published *Judgments in Admiralty of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia, 1784.

the Judge of the District Court. Hopkinson was greatly esteemed by his contemporaries. Jefferson called him "A man of genius, gentility and great merit"; John Adams wrote of him, "He is one of your pretty, little, curious, ingenious men. His head is not bigger than a large apple, yet he is genteel and well-bred and very social."

Hopkinson, furthermore, assisted his countrymen by means of his satiric gift. His *Pretty Story,* 1774, is a prose allegory on the causes of the war. England is pictured as a nobleman with a wife, several sons, and a valuable farm. Every seven years the nobleman chose a new wife (Parliament); as the sons went to settle new farms they took wives (Colonial Legislatures). The father had them purchase from his shop all their supplies, upon which he levied a tax. Once he sent some Water Gruel, but one Jack threw it overboard, for which the father locked up the gates and the sons were forced to slip the goods over the walls. The overseers, sent by the father, knew that the members of the family talked about all this, and posted a writ which threatened that any two caught talking would be punished. "These harsh and unconstitutional Proceedings irritated Jack and the other inhabitants of the New Farm to such a degree that,"—here Hopkinson broke off and left the action for his readers. The style is simple, pleasing, and unpretentious; the whole effect is entertaining. The allegory was modelled on Arbuthnot's *John Bull,* 1712,[35] a humorous account, from a Tory standpoint, of the causes which led up to the Treaty of Utrecht.

In a 'Translation of a Letter,' written by a foreigner on his travels, and dated London, December 3rd, 1776, Hopkinson analyzes the alleged vices of the English and their

[35] John Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull,* edited by George A. Aitken, Oxford, 1892.

treatment of Americans.[36] "This best of all kings has now turned his attention to America. There he has three millions of subjects, who loved, honored, and obeyed him. He governed them by officers of his own appointment; he had the whole regulation of their commerce; the overflowings of their wealth were conducted by easy channels into his coffers, and into the purses of the merchants and manufacturers of his kingdom. But he has quarreled with these loyal and beneficial subjects, because they are so obstinate that they will not acknowledge that two and two make five. Whole volumes have been written on this subject and all the force of reason and eloquence exerted to convince this wise King that he is in error."

In comparing the intellectual training among tradesmen of England and America, Hopkinson gives a sketch of a maker of pin heads. "He thinks it is the perfection of of human nature to make pin heads. He leaves other matters to inferior abilities. It is enough for him that he believes in the Athanasian Creed, reverences the splendor of the Court, and makes pin heads. . . . It is vain to tell him there are many rivers in America, in comparison of which the Thames is but a ditch; that there are single provinces there larger than all England. . . . He cannot conceive this. He goes into his best parlour, and looks on a map of England, four feet square; on the other side of the room he sees a map of North and South America not more than two feet square, and exclaims—How can these things be! It is altogether impossible!"[37]

In the letters addressed to Joseph Galloway and Lord Howe we find a deeper and a more bitter feeling. In the reply to General Burgoyne's proclamation to the inhabi-

[36] *Miscellaneous Essays* of F. Hopkinson, Vol. 1, p. 101.
[37] *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

tants of the country through which he was to march from Canada, Hopkinson is scathingly ironical. "Most high! most mighty! most puissant and sublime lieutenant general! when the forces under your command arrived at Quebec, . . . we, the reptiles of America, were seized with unusual trepidation and confounded with dismay. But what words can express the plenitude of our horror when the colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons advanced toward Ticonderoga. The mountains trembled before thee, and the trees of the forest bowed their lofty heads; the vast lakes of the west were chilled at thy presence, and the stupendous cataract of Niagara bellowed at thy approach. Judge then, oh! ineffable governor of Fort William in North Britain! what must have been the consternation, terror and despair of us miserable Americans, whilst in your irresistible advances, you laid all waste with fire and sword, more fully to display the justice and mercy of your King."

A Political Catechism gives, by means of questions and answers, in the manner of a religious catechism, a history of the war, and a contrast of the leaders and causes. *The Typographical Mode of Conducting a Quarrel* suggests the use of different sizes of type for various degrees of abuse; *Thoughts on the Disease of the Mind* proposes special newspapers to contain scandal; *Modern Learning* exemplifies herself in the collegiate examination of a salt box. No one of the satires is more sprightly than the mock advertisement on November 1st, 1781, of books, plays, maps, philosophical apparatus, and patent medicines belonging to James Rivington,[38] editor of the *Royal Gazette* in New York, a paper which was exceedingly offensive to Americans. The introduction read,

[38] Philip Freneau wrote many poems upon this gentleman, the best being *Rivington's Last Will and Testament;* John Witherspoon vented his feelings in a *Supplication of J. R.* to Congress, suggesting him as an editor in behalf of the new government.

"The late surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army, together with a variety of other circumstances, . . . rendered it convenient for the subscriber to remove to Europe." Among the articles advertised is "Anodyne Elixir, for quieting fears and apprehensions. Very necessary for Tories in all parts of America. N. B. To every purchaser to the value of five Pounds, will be delivered gratis, one quire of counterfeit Continental Currency. Also two quires of Proclamations offering Pardon to Rebels."

The verse of Hopkinson is profuse; many youthful lines in the meditative and eulogistic strain pleased the Celias and Rosalinds of the day. We hear only of the political ones, which are not always humorous. Early in 1777 Hopkinson stirred men with a *Camp Ballad,* intended not as a burlesque, but as an inspiration,

> "Make room, oh! ye Kingdoms in hist'ry renowned,—
> Whose arms have in battle with glory been crowned,—
> Make room for America,—another great nation
> Arising to claim in your council a station."

In the fall of this year, after the defeat and humiliation of Burgoyne, Hopkinson produced a ballad *Date Obolum Belisario.* Britain is the begging woman, who tells of her former splendor and power, which has been lost by the folly of her son, George.

> "Britannia now in rags you see—
> I beg from door to door;
> Oh! give, kind sir, for charity,
> A penny to the poor."

In January, 1778, when the British held Philadelphia, some Americans up the river sent down a number of kegs, charged with gunpowder and designed to explode on reaching the banks. One keg did so and frightened the British to

such an extent that they fired at every chip or stick afloat. An amusing prose description of the panic was published in the New Jersey *Gazette,* January 21st, 1778. The humorous poem, *The Battle of the Kegs,* followed:

"The kegs, 'tis said, tho' strongly made,
Of rebel staves and hoops, sir,
Could not oppose their powerful foes,
The conq'ring British troops, sir.

Such feats did they perform that day,
Against these wicked kegs, sir,
That years to come, if they get home,
They'll make their boasts and brags, sir."

To be sure, it is doggerel, but the sincerity with which the battle is reported gives it a quaint humor. It became, in his own day the most popular of Hopkinson's poems. It had enough ring to be easily quoted and once in mind, never to be forgotten.

After the war, when the difficulties of the new government were being adjusted, Hopkinson again took up his pen. *The New Roof* was an allegory on the debate concerning the Constitution in the Convention of Pennsylvania, in 1787; the song of the same title, for the Federal mechanics, shows his enthusiasm and confidence in the Constitution:

"Come muster, my lads, your mechanical tools,
Your saws and your axes, your hammers and rules;
Bring your mallets and planes, your level and line,
And plenty of pins of American pine;
For our roof we will make, and our song still shall be,
Our government firm, and our citizens free."

Hopkinson's humor was enriched, perhaps, from the supply of his friend, Franklin. Both resorted to extravagances, and both appeared serious when the satire was most shocking.

In contrast with Hopkinson, we must notice the verses of a loyalist, Joseph Stansbury (1750–1809), who was born in England, emigrated to America in 1767 and became a highly respected merchant in the Quaker City. Being a Tory, he was out of sympathy with the idea of independence for the colonies, yet he protested against many of the recent severities shown them. His songs were usually good-humored, rarely bitter, and never deeply offensive.[39]

"And in Will, Word and Deed, brave Englishmen all;
Still true to her Cause and awake to her Call.
Tho' party Contentions awhile may run high,
When Danger advances, they'll vanish and die;
While all with one Heart, Hand and Spirit unite,
Like Englishmen think and like Englishmen fight."

On the arrival of Sir William Howe on the coast of New York, June, 1776, Stansbury wrote a welcome, in which he spoke of the colonists as "Deluded Sons," whom Britain's King delighted to bless. Four years later, when "the rebels were carrying off forage and burning houses in sight of General Clinton," greatly to the disgust of all loyalists, Stansbury gave vent to his feelings in a Pasquinade, posted on the streets of New York:

"Has the Marquis La Fayette
Taken off all our hay yet?
Says Clinton to the wise heads around him;
Yes, faith, great Sir Harry,
Each stack he did carry,
And likewise the cattle—confound him!

If growlers complain
I inactive remain,
Will do nothing, nor let others;

[39] *The Loyal Verses of Joseph Stansbury and Dr. Jonathan Odell,* edited by Winthrop Sargent, Albany, 1860.

'Tis sure no new thing
To serve thus our King;
Witness Burgoyne and two famous brothers."

In *A Venison Dinner,* 1781, he shows his disappointment,

" Then cheer up, my lads; if the Prospect grows rougher,
Remember from whence, and for whom 'tis, you suffer;
From Men whom mild Laws, and too happy Condition,
Have puffed up with Pride and inflamed with sedition;
For George, whose reluctance to punish offenders
Has strengthened the hands of the upstart Pretenders."

Near the end of the war, he wrote " God Save the King," in which he taunted Washington with disappointed ambition, corrupted heart, and perverted head, but on the back of this manuscript, as if an after-thought, he inscribed,

" Now this war at length is o'er;
Let us think of it no more,
Every Party Lie or Name,
Cancel as our mutual shame,
Bid each wound of faction close,
Blushing we were ever foes."

Wishing to forget the experiences of the war, he destroyed all his verses he could find and went to Nova Scotia to live on lands assigned the refugees by England. He wrote of his unhappiness there in a poem, *To Cordelia,* his wife,

" Believe me, Love, this vagrant life
O'er Nova Scotia's wilds to roam,
While far from children, friends or wife,
Or place that I can call a home
Delights not me; another way
My treasures, pleasures, wishes lay."

Unable to stay away from his family, he returned to Philadelphia in 1785, hoping to resume his business, but his presence was deemed undesirable, and he was told to retire to New York. Stansbury's verses are distinctly good-humored and hopeful, almost festive and playful at times when they might have been as pungent, as those of his friend, Jonathan Odell.

Once when John Adams was writing his wife, he asked what subjects the ministers in Boston were using for their sermons and sent this message: "The clergy here (Philadelphia) of every denomination, not excepting the Episcopalian, thunder and lighten every Sabbath. . . . They thank God most explicitly and fervently for our remarkable successes. They pray for the American army."[40] The clergymen, regarded as the intellectual and moral leaders, were expected to take a stand; in fact, if they had kept silent, men would have approached them on the subject. The agitation was too serious for them not to sympathize one way or the other. The anniversaries of battles or acts of Congress gave them an opportunity of utterance, even if they avoided the subject at regular worship. When it seemed a rupture must be made with England, Myles Cooper of King's College, and Jonathan Boucher of Virginia, conferred with Provost Smith of the College of Philadelphia, Jacob Duché of Christ's Church, and others as to their attitude. All agreed to support the King.

At the first meeting of Congress, September 5th, 1774, Samuel Adams moved that Dr. Duché who, he heard, was friendly to the colonies, be invited to read prayers before the Assembly. Later Adams said that Duché "made a most excellent ex tempore prayer,[41] by which he discovered

[40] *Letters from John Adams to His Wife,* Vol. 1, p. 50.

[41] This can be read in Sabine's *Biographical Sketches of the Loyalists of the American Revolution,* Boston, 1864.

himself to be a gentleman of sense and piety, and a warm advocate for the religious and civil rights of America."[42]

The gentleman thus referred to, Jacob Duché (1737–1798), a grandson of the Huguenot, Anthony Duché, who came over with Penn, was graduated in the first class (1757) of the College of Philadelphia.[43] He continued his studies at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and in 1759 entered upon clerical work in Philadelphia. The positions he held are revealed in the nom-de-plume he adopted for the two volumes of essays[44] published by himself in 1774. He wrote over the signature, Tamoc Caspipina, formed from the initial letters of The Assistant Minister of Christ's Church and St. Peter's in Philadelphia in North America. These *Letters of Caspipina* were written to various people. The Right Honorable Lord Viscount P. of Oxford is addressed on the subject of Duché's native city, with her "honest, unpredjudiced freedom," . . . "which hath given birth even to Orators and Poets, many of whose performances, I have heard and read with the highest satisfaction." Duché's visit to Ephrata and impressions of the Dunkers, with a poem in their honor, are described to the Lord Bishop of Bath. In a letter of the Rev. O. J. at Philadelphia, Duché disapproved of the sensuality of Sterne and called his friend to task for having spoken well of the novelist. The essays include a life of William Penn.

On July 7th, 1775, Duché preached to the first battalion of militia on "the duty of standing fast in spiritual and temporal liberties." In speaking of England he said: "We wish to look up to her as the guardian, not the invader of her

[42] Letter to Dr. Joseph Warren.

[43] The other members of the class were Francis Hopkinson, Hugh Williamson, author of a *History of North Carolina*, 1812, Paul Jackson, John Morgan, James Latta and Samuel Magaw.

[44] *The Letters of Caspipina.* Philadelphia, 1774, Bath, 1787, London, 1791, Dublin, 1792; they were translated into German and published at Leipsic, 1778.

children's rights. We glory in the name of children, but then we wish to be treated as children—and children too, that have arrived at years of discretion." His other famous sermon, on the American Vine was delivered to Congress on the day designated for a general fast, July 20th. He spoke inspiringly, "Go on, ye chosen band and Christian patriots! Testify to the world . . . that ye are equally the foes of Vice and Slavery . . . throw down the usurpers and take possession of their seats." After the Declaration, Duché omitted from the liturgy all mention of the King, and on July 8th, 1776, John Hancock had him appointed chaplain to Congress. He filled this position until October 17th, 1776. In 1777, when the British took possession of Philadelphia, Duché, dubious of the success of the colonies, remained in the city. On the following Sunday he used the customary prayer for the King. Ten days later he wrote a pitiful letter to Washington urging him to resume his allegiance to the Crown. Unfortunately for Duché, the letter became public and in a few weeks he felt it wise to visit England. In 1779 he collected two volumes of sermons, dedicated to Lady Juliana Penn.

After the war, Duché wished to return to America and wrote an humble letter of apology to Washington, asking him to forgive "what a weak judgment but a very affectionate heart once presumed him to advise." In 1792 he returned, broken in health and spirit, but lived only a few years. No one thinks of him as a traitor; he seems rather a good man, lacking judgment and firmness—a man of far less character than his fellow clerical exile, Jonathan Boucher.

The assistant to Duché after he became rector, Thomas Coombe (1758–1822), followed in his superior's steps. Having first preached in a manner favorable to the colonists, he

was silent on the subject as the excitement became more tense, and finally joined the opposite party. In 1777 he was included in the banishment act to Staunton, Virginia, but on the plea of sickness, was allowed to remain at home. He, too, went to England. He published a book of verses, 1775, in which the main poem is, *The Peasant of Auburn* or *The Emigrant,* a continuation of *The Deserted Village,* and dedicated to Goldsmith. It was written to discourage emigration and he succeeded in revealing a woeful picture of the American pioneer. Edwin, wandering on the Ohio, tells of his failures:

> " Much had I heard from men unus'd to feign,
> Of this New World, and Freedom's gentle reign,
> 'Twas fam'd that here, by no fond master spurn'd;
> The poor man ate secure the bread he earned;
> Fields without bounds, spontaneous fruitage bore,
> And peace and virtue bless'd the favor'd shore.
> How vain my search to find some lowly bower,
> Far from those scenes of death, this rage for power,
> What tho' some cottage rise amid the bloom;
> Far, far away the wretched owners roam,
> Exiles like me, the world their only home."

In a poem, *Night,* we find such plain borrowings from Gray as " brushing with hasty step," " a youth with fortune and with power unblest," " Life's meteor glories lead but to the tomb."

A remarkable man in many ways was the army chaplain, Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1748–1816), who came to America from Scotland in 1753. He was in the class of 1771 at Princeton with James Madison and Philip Freneau. For the commencement exercises of 1771 Brackenridge and Freneau composed a poetical dialogue, *The Rising Glory of America.* Freneau in 1795 published his portion. Bracken-

ridge's part is smoothly written and marked by seriousness of tone. After leaving college, Brackenridge went to Maryland to take charge of an academy; and for his pupils there he wrote a drama, entitled *The Battle of Bunker Hill.*[45] Resigning this positon, he edited *The United States Magazine,* which aimed "to paint the graces on the front of war and invite the muses to our country." As chaplain, he preached to the army *Six Political Discourses Formulated on the Scripture* (Philadelphia, 1778). He used such titles as *The Bloody Vestiges of Tyranny* and such entreaties as "Let every class of men join to execrate the tyrant and the tyranny, and to rank the George of England with the Cains and the murderers of mankind. . . . Duty, honor, and the love of virtue call to battle. A bleeding and a vanquished Country calls to battle. . . . Let every man give audience to the voice. . . . Let him be of the mind to fight from hill to hill, from vale to vale, and on every plain, until the enemy is driven back and forced to depart,—until the tyrant shall give up his claim, and be obliged to confess that freemen, that Americans are not to be subdued."

But preaching, as a profession, did not suit Brackenridge, and he turned to the study of law, with Samuel Chase in Annapolis. When ready to practice he located at Pittsburg, a frontier town, boasting in 1784 four lawyers and two doctors; from there he was sent to the State Legislature to secure the establishment of Alleghany county. He was active in trying to quell the Whiskey Rebellion, and was censured as being in league with the whiskey men. *The Incidents of the Insurrection,* written and published by Brackenridge in 1795, explains his objections to the excise tax upon whiskey and his efforts to harmonize the offenders of the law and the officials. All of these experiences of political

[45] See page 138.

life gave him material for a satire in the form of picaresque fiction, *Modern Chivalry*[46] or *The Adventures of Captain Farrago and Teague O'Regan, his Servant.* This was practically the beginning of American fiction, and it shows that the puritanic prejudice against it was passing.[46]* Brackenridge wished to teach his fellow citizens a bit of political wisdom. Captain Farrago, the representative of Don Quixote, sets out with his servant, Teague O'Regan, in quest of adventures. The captain finds that new responsibilities and honors have been so suddenly thrust upon the inhabitants, that they do not know how to use them. Teague, after being taught dancing and manners, is introduced at the President's levee and is appointed a collector of excise in the Alleghanies. But there he is tarred and feathered by the citizens. Escaping, he meets two gentlemen collecting specimens for the Philosophical Society, and he is caged for a wild animal. The people are ready to send a weaver to Congress, to appoint Teague as a member of the Philosophical Society or to elect a native Irishman to a professorship of Greek. The second volume is more didactic. The description of election scenes, the training of animals to speak and participate in politics, continue the ideas of the first part. Ballads, intermixed with rambling remarks on Milton, Pope and Sidney, and essays in imitation of Montaigne, complete the volume. Long after masques were out of fashion Brackenridge wrote one at the Warm Springs in Virginia, 1784, in which occurs a conversation in blank verse, between the Genius of the woods and springs, and the rivers, Ohio, Delaware and Potomac. After these have recited the heroic deeds of Washington on their banks, the naiads sing and dance. The closing speech

[46] The first part was published in Pittsburg, 1796, the second in 1806 at the same place; the two volumes in Philadelphia, 1815. The last edition, 1846, edited by his son, H. M. Brackenridge, contains a life of the author and forty-eight illustrations by Darley, but only the first volume of the satire.

[46] * Brackenridge at first intended to employ Hudibrastic verse.

advertises the marvellous medicinal powers of the waters of the Warm Springs. Many short poems of a burlesque nature were contributed to the *Gazette* and collected in a volume in 1806. Brackenridge was appointed by Governor McKean, Judge of the Supreme Court in 1799, and served until his death, 1816. His *Law Miscellanies* (Philadelphia, 1814) were meant as an introduction to the study, and show the variations of the state laws from the English.

A minister, referred to as being present at the conference with Duché and others, and who agreed to support the King, was the scholar, William Smith (1727–1803).[47] He was born near Aberdeen, Scotland, graduated from the college of that city in 1747, and in the same year came to America. For two years he was in New York, where the founding of a college was being discussed. For this purpose, Smith wrote *A General Idea of the College of Mirania,* with a prologue in verse; in the pamphlet he suggests, according to the usual opinion of the day, an abundance of mathematics, philosophy and classics. Dr. Franklin, who was in search of a head for the Philadelphia College, was impressed with the pamphlet and invited the author to accept that position. Smith went to England, studied for the ministry and returned in 1751 to serve as provost of the college. For fifty years, as educator, minister, writer, and politician, he had unbounded influence. Under his guidance, the college grew rapidly, a medical department was opened in 1765, and in 1791, the year of his retirement, the two were united into the University of Pennsylvania.

His early essays, in the *American Magazine,* October, 1757 to October, 1758, under the title of *The Hermit,* show

[47] The *Nathan Ben Saddi Chronicles,* 1758, is an allegorical account of the arrest of Rev. William Smith and William Moore. Saddi was supposed to be a rabbi of the Jews, who had lately discovered these tracts in the ruins of Herculaneum and translated them into the Italian language at the command of the king of Sicily.

his eagerness to elevate the standard of literary taste. His orations to Montgomery and Franklin, the latter delivered before the President and Congress of the United States, testify to his ability on an occasional topic. His most memorable sermon was delivered on June 23rd, 1775, two days after Washington took command of the American forces,—to the Philadelphia Volunteers, *On the Present Situation of American Affairs.*[48] He spoke very boldly and brought upon himself laudatory attention from Dr. Priestley, Dr. Price, *The Monthly Review* for August, 1775, and the *London Magazine,* August, 1775; and damnatory criticism from John Wesley, Junius, and the *Public Advertiser* (September 14th, 1775).[49] On July 20th, of the same year, he delivered the sermon for the first public fast recommended by Congress, but a subdued tone is most evident. He was silent on the war until May, 1781, another public fast.

His *Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania* was reprinted in New York, 1865. *A Philosophical Meditation and Religious Address to the Supreme Being,* London, 1784, was designed as a text-book in philosophy. The sermons of Dr. Smith, in two volumes, 1803, contain, besides the above, an introduction by Bishop White, the editor, and five odes to the author by F. Hopkinson, J. Duché, S. Magaw, L. Barton and P. Jackson. Through his encouragement of learning, his eloquence, his enthusiasm for culture, his liberal ideas, and his general activity, his work was effective not only upon his associates and pupils, but upon the state. It is said that his eloquence and pleasing personality added to the effect of his lectures and sermons. This must be true, or else the present day reader is left in wonder.

William White (1748–1836) acted with becoming dignity

[48] *Sermons of William Smith,* Vol. 2, pp. 265–286.
[49] *Ibid*—for comments, pp. 251–265.

in the Revolutionary crisis. He declined preaching before the battalion and insisted that he did not approve of the clergy being instrumental to the war. But, after the Declaration of Independence, he took the oath of allegiance to the United States and served as chaplain to Congress from 1784 to 1801. In 1786, in company with Dr. Smith, he went to England seeking confirmation as a newly appointed Bishop of the American Episcopate. White was active in the establishment and organization of the independent church. The feeling of the colonists toward him is much in contrast with that toward Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, who made himself obnoxious. Besides his *Reminiscences,* White published *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Lectures on the Catechism, Ordination Offices* and *Ten Pastoral Letters.* His historical writings were accurate and definite; the sermons, full of fatherly gentleness. Blameless, moderate and tolerant, he was exceedingly useful to his people.

Wordsworth's sonnet to White is explained in the poet's notes, where he makes acknowledgments to his American friends, Bishop Doane and Henry Reed, the editor of the American edition of Wordsworth. He says they "pointed out the virtues and intellectual qualities of Bishop White, which so eminently fitted him for the great work he undertook."

> "To thee, O saintly White
> Patriarch of a widespreading family,
> Remotest lands and unborn times shall turn,
> Whether they would restore, or build,—to thee,
> As one who rightly taught how zeal should burn,
> As one who drew from out faith's holiest urn,
> The perfect stream of patient energy."[50]

[50] *Ecclesiastical Sonnets,* part 3, sonnet 15.

A study of Revolutionary literature, which omitted the attempts at drama, would be incomplete. The satiric drama, a favorite form, gave American authors an opportunity of contrasting the two armies, disparaging the motives, feelings and deeds of the Tories, and exalting the righteousness of the American cause and the nobility of its leaders. There were published by the local presses only a few longer dramas, with a variety of characters, scenes and confused action. These are incoherently planned; often we cross the continent or the ocean between the scenes; yet the desired effect in burlesque is never missed.

The Fall of British Tyranny was a tragi-comedy as planned at the Royal Theatrum, Pandemonium, at St. James's, and published according to an act of Parliament, Philadelphia, 1776. It was signed Dick Rifle and is attributed by Sabine and Hildeburn to John Leacock of Philadelphia. It is a Whig satire based on the motives of the Tory conspirators who had brought on the war, and on the failure of these to execute their plot. Employing such descriptive terms as Lord Paramount for Bute, Lord Mocklaw for Mansfield, Lord Catspaw for North, Lord Wisdom for Chatham, Lord Religion for the Bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Patriot for Wilkes, Bold Irishman for Burke, Lord Boston for Gage, Elbow Room for Howe, etc., and introducing American heroes by their real names, the author develops an interesting series of character studies.

The first act shows Lord Bute strutting about his room, revelling in his own greatness and blabbing the Jacobite plans he cherishes, viz., to bring on the war, defeat England, get rid of George III. and recall his own relatives, the Stuarts.[51] "Oh Ambition! thou darling of my soul, stop not till I rise superior to all superlative,—till I mount trium-

[51] *The Fall of British Tyranny*, act I.

phantly the pinnacle of glory,—or at least open the way for one of my own family and name to enter without opposition." He outlines his campaign to Mansfield; by taking America, sending over troops and ships, he will cause war, weaken Britain and impoverish America; fleets from Spain and France will descend upon England, his relatives, the Stuarts, will unite with them and force George III. to abdicate. At a meeting of the Council, his advice is that "Lord Boston and Admiral Tombstone (Graves) be sent immediately to Boston . . . to shut up their ports, disannul their charters, stop their trade, and the pusillanimous beggars,—those rascals, whose predominant passion is fear,—would immediately give up, on the first landing of the regulars, and fly before 'em like a hare before the hounds. That this would be the case, I pawn my honor to your Lordships; nay I'll sacrifice my life."[52]

The second act gave a debate in the House of Lords—which is opposed to the measures of the ministry. Burke in private conversation with Wilkes and Barré is made to say:[53] "When the voice of liberty can no longer be heard in Britain or Hibernia, let's give Caledonia a kick with our heels, and away with the goddess for the American shore, crown her and defy the grim king of tyranny, at his peril, to set his foot there."

In the third act the citizens of Boston are in great confusion because of the arrival of the ships and troops. Gage, while awaiting the triumphant return of his soldiers from Lexington, with Hancock and Adams as prisoners of war, says, "I'll make each of them a present of a pair of handsome iron ruffles, and the Major Provost shall provide a suitable entertainment for them in his apartment." A mes-

[52] *The Fall of British Tyranny*, act I.
[53] *Ibid*, act. II.

senger arrives with the news of the retreat and later the details are told the audience by two shepherds, a totally incongruous device.

Lord Dunmore, in act four, is playing havoc with the negroes on the Virginia coast. The next scene is in Boston at a council of war. The British leaders were discouraged and afraid that these reports would have an unpleasant effect at home. We are transferred, in the fifth act, from Montreal to Cambridge with other American troops, who grieve over the death of Montgomery and swear vengeance. The pithy epilogue, spoken by Freeman, connecting this play with the prose of Paine and emphasizing the favorite appeal of the Whigs, closes the drama:

> "Let's act in earnest, not with vain pretense;
> Adopt the language of sound Common Sense
> And with one voice proclaim—Independence!
> Let tyrants see that you are well prepar'd,
> By proclamations, sword, nor speeches scar'd;
> That Liberty, freeborn, breathes in every soul!
> One godlike union animates the whole!"

Nothing is known of the author or of his design in composing the play, but the device of a tragi-comedy suited his materials far better than anything else.

Two other dramas were by H. H. Brackenridge, one on the first real encounter between the foes, the other on the death of the American leader in his attempt to capture Quebec. Both were written for school exercises or "private entertainment by gentlemen of taste and martial enterprise, without any thought of stage production."

The earlier, *The Battle of Bunker Hill* (Philadelphia, 1776), in heroic measure, tried to inspire confidence in the military ability and earnest purpose of the Americans. Two war councils are held; one in Cambridge by Warren, Putnam

and Gardiner, who are frightened but determined to approach the hill; the other by Gage, Howe and Burgoyne, who had purposed to advance the next morning upon the rebels, supposedly in Cambridge.

> "Then march we forth, heat up their drowsy camp,
> And with the sun, to this safe capital,
> Return, rich with the triumphs of the war." [54]

But at daybreak the British find the rebels have marched, and now the scenes quickly shift from one side to the other. Gage, soliloquizing, cries: [55]

> "May Heaven protect us from this rage, I say.
> . . . . . .
> Oh Bute and Dartmouth, knew ye what I feel,
> You sure would pity an old drinking man,
> That has more heart-ake than philosophy."

Howe encouraged his men with the hope of confiscated farms, dukedoms and baronies,

> "The Word
> Is—'George, our sovereign, and Britannia's arms'" [56]—

But in the fifth act Warren cheered the Americans,

> "The Word is 'Liberty,'
> And Heaven smile on us in so just a cause!" [57]

The contrast is even more striking in Gardiner's words:

> "The justness of our cause will brace each arm,
> And steel the soul with fortitude; while they,
> Whose guilt hangs trembling on their conscience,
> Must fail in battle." [58]

The climax is reached when Warren, wounded, "cover-

[54] The *Battle of Bunker Hill*, act 2, scene 1.
[55] The *Battle of Bunker Hill*, act 4, scene 1.
[56] *Ibid.*, act 4, scene 1.
[57] *Ibid.*, act 5, scene 2.
[58] *Ibid.*, act 5, scene 2.

ing his breast with his right hand, supporting himself with his firelock in his left," cried to them, to

"Fight on, my countrymen, be free, be free."

After the retreat the British leaders praised the unexpected valor and bravery of their enemies. Burgoyne exclaimed:[59]

"But this rude day, unparalleled in time,
Has no competitor . . .
A scene like which, perhaps, no time shall know,
'Till Heaven with final ruin fires the ball,
Burns up the cities and the works of men,
And wraps the mountains in one general blaze."

A military song by the army, on Washington's victorious entry, closed the drama.

The second play by Brackenridge, *The Death of General Montgomery, at the Siege of Quebec* (Philadelphia, 1777), contrasted the noble traits of character and the superiority of the American cause with the sordid motives of their foes.

Even here Brackenridge showed the love and respect of the colonists for former English valor,

"O mighty Wolfe, if yet thy warlike shade
Revisitest these heights and rocky streams,
Be witness here, in this unnatural strife,
Where a mad mother doth her children stab.
. . . . . .
If Wolfe had lived, would he have drawn his sword,
In Britain's cause—in her unrighteous cause,
To chain the American, and bind him down?
O no, his soul, by nature elegant,
With liberal sentiment and knowledge stor'd,
Would not have suffered it—"[60]

[59] The *Battle of Bunker Hill*, act 5, scene 10.
[60] *The Death of General Montgomery*, act 3, scene 3.

The ghost of Wolfe calmed them,

> " From your death shall spring the mighty thought
> Of separation from the step-dame rule
> Of moon-struck Britain." [62]

The ghost of Montgomery pronounced woe upon the King and Parliament and predicted victory for the Americans. Carleton, " exposing the body of Montgomery," entraps the Americans to surrender under promise of fair treatment and only desists from executing all of them on account of fearing the reversal of the fortune of war. Captain (afterwards General) Morgan, of Virginia, gave the final note of satire:[63]

> " And at the Last Day, when the pit receives
> Her gloomy brood, and seen among the rest,
> Some spirit distinguished by ampler swell
> Of malice, envy, and soul griping hate,
> Pointing to him, the foul and ugly ghosts
> Of Hell, shall say, ' That was an Englishman.' "

A comedy, published without date, name of author or of place, was *The Patriots,* in five acts. It deals with the social situation, the enthusiasm of the women for the distinguished officers and the lack of patriotism towards the private soldiers. *The American Chronicles,* in six chapters, thought by Tyler to be the work of Hopkinson, rises above the level of the ordinary pamphlet. Scores of short pieces were thrown off, in broadsides and pamphlets, all crude and unpretentious, but valuable for giving a vivid and realistic picture of the feelings of the people.[64]

[62] *Ibid.,* act 4, scene 3.

[63] *The Death of General Montgomery,* act 5, scene 5.

[64] The most energetic printer of the period, William Bradford (1721–1791), issued *The Pennsylvania Journal* from December 2, 1742, until his death, when it was continued by his son to 1852. The paper was a means of strong appeal and bitter denunciation during the war. In 1757 Bradford revived *The American Magazine* for thirteen numbers.

On the whole, this period of twenty years was prolific in many forms of literature, and while little of it may interest the general reader, every broadside accentuates the impressions of the student. The sermons and more learned essays were filled with serious argument and meant to soothe or to arouse; the verse served manifold purposes, satire, burlesque, occasional pleasantry. It was not a season for meditating on the glories of life, nor a time to be amused and entertained; rather an occasion for defending everything the colonists valued, and to this task they nobly set themselves.

CHAPTER VI

LATER PROSE AND VERSE WRITERS

Magazines—*Columbian*—Rush—Cobbett—*Museum*—William Bartram—*Observations*—William Clifton—*The Group,* Political Satires, Lyrics—William Smith—Hannah Griffiths—Susanna Wright—Manuscript Poems—Ralling—Nesbit—Searson—Swanwick—"Geoffrey Touchstone"—Murdock—Markoe—Dramas—Linn—*Powers of Genius, Valerian*—Summary.

After the suspension of the *United States Magazine* (January, 1779–December, 1779), undertaken by Francis Bailey and H. H. Brackenridge, no one had the courage to try another such experiment until the war was over and financial confidence was restored. In September, 1786, a company started the *Columbian Magazine* or *Monthly Miscellany,* modelled upon the *Gentleman's* and the *London Magazine.* The owners were Mathew Carey, T. Siddons, C. Talbot, N. Spotswood, and J. Frenchard. Carey contributed to the first issue *The Life of General Greene,* and later some short poems, but in December he withdrew from the company to edit a magazine of his own.

Many native productions on local topics can be found only in these volumes. They were not, however, confined to local productions; *The Foresters,* a humorous account of the settlement of America and her trouble with Great Britain, by Jeremy Belknap of New Hampshire was written for this periodical. Under the editorship of A. J. Dallas, brother of Byron's biographer,[1] and by means of the contributions of Dr. Benjamin Rush (1746–1813), the magazine pros-

[1] *Recollections of the Life of Lord Byron,* 1808 to 1814, by Robert Charles Dallas.

pered until December, 1792, when it was discontinued because of the high postage rate. The essays of the latter, literary, moral and philosophical, were published in book form (Philadelphia, 1798). Rush was a professor of chemistry in the college, a surgeon in the Pennsylvania Hospital, and a man interested in all social, political and philanthropic reforms. He dreams in *The Paradise of Negro Slaves,* of meeting many blacks, mindful of their tales of sorrow and oppression. While the stories are being rehearsed, Anthony Benezet, their benefactor, is announced and all rush to welcome him. The biographies of Lay and Benezet take a eulogistic form. In some of his medical lectures and essays, Rush departs from scientific questions to consider the effect upon society of certain forms of punishment, the need of definite reforms, and the responsibility of increasing prosperity.[2]

Rush was exceedingly useful during the yellow fever plague of 1798. William Cobbett, or "Peter Porcupine," editor of *Porcupine's Gazette and United States Daily Advertiser* (March 4, 1797, to January 13, 1800) and of the *Political Censor* (March, 1796, to March, 1797), who was noted for his extreme vulgarity and powerful invective, compared Dr. Rush to Doctor Sangrado, in *Gil Blas,* because Rush treated his fever patients by bleeding them. A slander suit followed, which cost the editor about eight thousand dollars and caused him to return to England. Before starting, however, Cobbett wrote many scurrilous pages against Rush, in *The Rushlight,* a new federal monthly, published in New York, in which place, Cobbett, for a short time continued his business.

The American Museum, begun in January, 1787, by Carey, was the most successful American magazine of the

[2] See *The Old Farmer and His Almanac,* by G. L. Kittredge, Boston, 1904.

period. Franklin furnished the first article, *Consolation for America,* Rush the second, urging political reform; in later numbers Hopkinson's poems, Benezet's utterances against slavery, Duché's *Caspipina's Letters,* Freneau's odes, David Humphrey's poem on the *Happiness of America,* Franklin's *Prussian Edict,* occurrences in other sections, agricultural improvements, etc., etc., caused the periodical to attain an unrivalled popularity. The price of subscription ($2.40 a year) was low, the expense of publication and postage, high, and after six years it was discontinued (December 31, 1792).

The activity of the press is evidenced in American reprints of such books as Young's *Resignation,* with a postscript by Miss Elizabeth Graeme, 1765; Young's *Night-Thoughts* and *Poem on the Last Day,* 1778; Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield,* 1768; Blair's *Grave* and Gray's *Elegy,* 1773; Thomson's *Seasons,* 1777; Milton's *Paradise Lost,* 1777; Burns's *Poems,* 1788; Smollet's *History of the War in America, Germany and the East Indies,* 2 vols., 1761; Rousseau's *Émile,* 1764; Johnson's *Rasselas,* 1768, and Sterne's *Sentimental Journey,* 1771. The poets had the more immediate influence; in fact most of the native rhymsters chose a motto for their title-pages from Milton, Thomson, Young, or Gray, and imitated them openly. The influences in prose were not so evident. In one case, that of William Bartram, we see the effects of Rousseau without any stilted imitation. The spirit of simplicity and nature worship have so far permeated the author as to become his own.

This man, a botanist (1739–1823), reared at the Botanic Gardens, near Philadelphia, was taken when young to accompany his father[3] on a Florida tour. The son inherited the parent's love of travel and observation. At the request of Dr. Fothergill of London, William Bartram spent

[3] See Chapter 5, page 105.

the five years from 1773 to 1778 in researches in Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. The specimens of flowers and plants were shipped to England, but Bartram's *Observations*[4] was first printed in Philadelphia. However enthusiastic a botanist he was, no general interest escaped his chronicling, nor is his interest to be wondered at, when we read that St. John's pass was so "full of alligators that it would have been easy to walk across on their heads, had the animals been harmless."

An alligator duel is vividly described,—"The verges and islets of the lagoon were elegantly embellished with flowering plants and shrubs; the laughing coots with wings half spread tripping over the little coves and hiding themselves in the tufts of grass; young broods of the painted summer-teal, skimming the still surface of the waters, and following the watchful parent unconscious of danger, were frequently surprised by the voracious trout, and he, in turn, as often by the subtle greedy alligator. Behold him rushing forth from the flags and reeds. His enormous body swells. His plaited tail brandished high, floats upon the lake. The waters like a cataract descend from his opening jaws. Clouds of smoke issue from his dilated nostrils. The earth trembles with his thunder, when immediately from the opposite coast of the lagoon, emerges from the deep his rival champion. They suddenly dart upon each other. The boiling surface of the lake marks their rapid course, and a terrific conflict commences. They now sink to the bottom folded together in horrid wreaths. The water becomes thick and discolored. Again they rise, their jaws clap together, re-echoing through the deep surrounding forests. Again they sink, when the contest ends at the muddy bottom of

[4] *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida,* by William Bartram, Philadelphia, 1791.

the lake and the vanquished makes a hazardous escape, hiding himself in the muddy, turbulent waters and sedge on a distant shore. The proud victor exulting returns to the place of action. The shores and forests resound his dreadful war, together with the triumphing shouts of the plaited tribes around, witnesses of the horrid combat.[5]

Bartram's paradise of fish is in a 'peaceable and happy state of nature,' where 'all (fish) are on an equality with regard to their ability to injure or escape from one another.'[6] His 'sylvan scene of primitive innocence,' where 'companies of young innocent Cherokee virgins' gather strawberries, rest under the magnolias, chase one another in their sports and eat the luscious fruit, while reclining on the grass, is one of the scenes which Wordsworth reproduced in *Ruth*. Nor did the great poet desist there; Bartram's youth from Georgia, who had fought the Indians and told of the 'green savannahs and many an endless, endless lake,' became the hero of *Ruth*.[6*] This simplicity of life, both human and animal, this unfettered existence in the wilderness, this intense love of nature, as seen in the description of the storm,[7] the rapt emotion of an evening on the savannah,—is characteristic of Bartram. "This little lake and surrounding meadows would have been alone sufficient to surprise and delight the traveller; but being placed so near the great savanna, the attention is quickly drawn off, and wholly engaged in the contemplation of the unlimited, varied and truly astonishing native wild scenes of landscapes and perspective, there exhibited; how is the mind agitated and be-

[5] *Observations* of William Bartram, p. 118.

[6] *Observations* of William Bartram, p. 168.

[6*] Mr. Lane Cooper in the *Athenæum*, April 22, 1905 (p. 498) has spoken of the influence of Bartram on *The Recluse*, ll 198–229, and *The Prelude*, Bk. III, ll 427–446, and Bk. V, ll 374–377. In the *Nation*, Feb. 23, 1905, the same writer urges a new edition of Bartram.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 343.

wildered at being thus, as it were, placed on the borders of a new world![8]

Coleridge, thirty-six years after this book was written, said:[9] "The latest book of travels I know, written in the spirit of the old travellers, is Bartram's account of his tour in the Floridas. It is a work of high merit in every way." We wonder if Coleridge could have been influenced by it in the *Wanderings of Cain!* The sylvan picture of the boy plucking fruits, given in verse in the preface, is plainly from Bartram. The moonlight shadows in the solitude, the forest of fir trees, the desire for an open, unmolested country of freedom, come out in the prose. The romantic chasm in *Kubla Khan* is likewise suggestive. Southey quotes from the travels to explain these lines:

> "On the top
> Of yon magnolia, the loud turkey's voice
> Is heralding the doom."[10]

Bartram's book deserved the popularity it obtained. It was reprinted in Philadelphia, 1791, 1792; London, 1792, 1794; Dublin, 1793; Berlin, 1793; Haarlem, 1794–97; Paris, 1799–1801.

In this work Bartram published *An Account of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws,* etc.[11] He assisted Wilson in his *American Ornithology*, and contributed some drawings to Barton's *Elements of Botany.* The visit of Dunlap[12] and C. B. Brown to Bartram, May, 1797, described by the former, is as interesting as Crèvecoeur's account[13] of his sojourns with the father.[14]

[8] *Observations,* etc., p. 189.

[9] *Specimens of the Table Talk* of S. T. Coleridge for March 12, 1827, Vol. 1, p. 60.

[10] Robert Southey in the Notes to *Madoc in Aztlan,* Vol. 3 of Southey's works, p. 421.

[11] Answers by Bartram to a series of questions about Indians were published by the *American Ethnological Society,* Vol. 3, p. 1.

[12] *History of the American Theater,* by Wm. Dunlap, p. 170.

[13] *Letters of an American Farmer,* Hector St. J. Crèvecœur, N. Y., 1904.

[14] See Harshberger's *Botanists of Philadelphia,* 1899. Philadelphia.

Even though some few men gave much time to writing, William Clifton (1772–1799), the son of a Quaker, apologized for devoting himself to literature by saying that he was too delicate for an active life. Excited by Jay's treaty, Clifton contributed prose and verse to the newspapers in support of Washington's administration. The best known of these pieces, *The Group,* represented various shipwrights, rope-makers, joiners, etc., etc., meeting in Southwark for a discussion of politics which were entirely beyond their knowledge. Clifton's father was a blacksmith and the treasurer of the commissioners of Southwark. The men whom the poet satirized were members of the same board. The author withheld his name and the publisher was forced to stand a libel suit.

After some pages of coarse, undisguised Jacobinism, Clifton departs "from the flower-covered mountain of poetry, where rhyme responds to thyme, and the warbling lines pair together like young doves, down to the low meadow ground of humble prose," and thus continues the dialogue. The piece was designed for general application "to any turbulent and ignorant patriots who employ those hours in machinations against the quiet and security of society." Another political piece, in Hudibrastic measure, *The Rhapsody on the Times,* depicted Paddy, a drunken politician, railing at the Legislature. In *The Chimeriad,* a fragment, Clifton has for his subject the false philosophy of the Jacobins, Sansculottes and many Christians, as then revealed in France and America. He used a witch, Chimera, as the personification of this idea.

In the preface of the *Poems* (New York, 1800) is described a secret association, the Anchor Club, formed for the sake of social pleasures, and of "producing a disposition in the public mind towards war with France." Clifton, a

member, wrote an article in prose and verse for the organization, *Some account of a Manuscript found among the papers of a French Emigrant in London, entitled Talleyrand's Descent into Hell.* In this visit to the infernal regions Clifton's satiric power has free play. Talleyrand's dialogue with Cerberus, that gained his entrance into Hades, his news of the painful existence of his revolutionary compatriots, his vision in the Elysian fields of the France 'of bygone ages,' with 'her harmless joys,' her 'tasting the luxury of doing good,' her 'sympathy and delight,' all now exchanged for 'a new illumination'—display a moderate ability.

Besides these satires, Clifton wrote some occasional verse. A poem on Gifford was published in the first American edition of Gifford's *Baviad and Mæviad,* Philadelphia, 1799. It was here that Clifton spoke of America's lack of an appreciation of poetry,

> "In these cold shades, beneath these shifting skies,
> Where Fancy sickens, and where Genius dies;
> Where few and feeble are the muses' strains,
> And no fine frenzy riots in the veins,
> There still are found a few to whom belong
> The fire of virtue and the soul of song;"

Clifton was enthusiastic over Gifford and wished to 'add his little wild flower to the bard's wreath.'

The lyric, *To a Robin,* shows his gentleness of feeling, and his lightness of touch:

> "From winter so dreary and long,
> Escap'd, ah! how welcome the day,
> Sweet Bob with his innocent song,
> Is returned to his favorite spray.

When the voice of the tempest was heard,
As o'er the bleak mountain it passed,
He hied to the thicket, poor bird!
And shrank from the pitiless blast.

By the maid of the valley survey'd,
Did she melt at thy comfortless lot?
Her hand, was it stretched to thy aid,
As thou pick'dst at the door of her cot?

She did; and the wintry wind,
May it howl not around her green grove;
Be a bosom so gentle and kind,
Only fann'd by the breathings of love.

She did; and the kiss of her swain,
With rapture, the deed shall requite,
That gave to my window again,
Poor Bob and his song of delight."

Il Penseroso differs from the usual conception:

"I hate this spungy world, with all its store,
This bustling, noisy, nothingness of life,
This treacherous herd of friends with hollow core,
This vale of sorrow, and this field of strife.

. . . . . .

When in the quiet of an humble home,
Beside the fountain, or upon the hill,
Where strife and care and sorrow never come,
I may be free and happy, if I will."

A Drinking Song has more sprightliness, *A Flight of Fancy,* more chivalric sentiment, than have the verses of many contemporaries. This verse impressed some readers, for in 1805 Davis,[15] the satiric English traveller, said:

"With Clifton, Nature's poet, who shall vie?
Though low he lies, his works shall never die."

[15] *The Philadelphia Pursuits of Literature,* by Juvenal Junius of N. J. Philadelphia, 1805.

A volume of his poems, with notices of his life, was published at New York in 1800.

One poet[16] helps to encourage the literary output by unselfishly publishing his own poems and thus trying to persuade others, for he "is convinced that several gentlemen have in their closets, Pieces that would do honor to themselves and to their country, if published." This author, however, had the unique experience of an English imprint, and a second edition at home. William Moore Smith (1759–1821), son of the provost of the College of Philadelphia, was a member of the class of 1775 and later a lawyer of rank in the city. His poems vary little from the prevalent type. Young ladies by means of an illness, a birthday, or a marriage secured a stanza. Odes to insensibility, vicissitude, and melancholy were favorite amusements. He followed the Churchyard School in the *Grove of Affliction, Maria's Grave* and *The Village Funeral,* which surpass his shorter verses. He showed one different touch in *An Epistle,* written in a cave, on the top of a mountain, whither the author went to avoid the savages. Where you expect meditative and gloomy verses, you have illustrations of Indian superstitions and plain proofs of the influence of Collins's *Ode on the Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands.* The tone, rhythm and general level of Smith's poems are better sustained than in many volumes, and yet three editions are surprising.

However well Smith succeeded in getting the men to publish their verses, he could not move the women, and there were some in the province who wrote.[18] Of the same

[16] *Poems on Several Occasions,* by Wm. Moore Smith, Philadelphia, 1784. *The Floweret,* by Wm. Moore Smith, London, 1786. Baltimore, 1786.

[18] The first attempt in Philadelphia at a publication for women was *The Lady's Magazine and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge,* 1792, by a Literary Society. By means of poems, anecdotes, female correspondence, suggestions for lightening tasks, increasing beauty, etc., it existed for fifteen months. Very many similar attempts at popular magazines were made, varying in titles but not in value.

type as Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, were her maiden friends, Hannah Griffiths and Susanna Wright. The former (1727–1809?),[19] a great-granddaughter of Thomas Lloyd, an early arrival in the colony and a lineal descendant of Edward III., is described by an anonymous friend as "of excellent abilities, and distinguished for the ease and accuracy with which she expressed herself both in conversation and with her pen." The copies of her poems when sent to friends often included a note, showing her modesty and unwillingness to have them generally circulated. Though collected and presented to the Library Company of Philadelphia by Miss Francis Logan, they have never been published. One unique outlet of her poetic fervor, the writing of an anniversary poem on the day of her mother's death, February 13, was continued from 1750 to 1803. She was at least more persistent than Donne in his annual commemorations of Mrs. Elizabeth Drury.

There are other elegiac poems, to her neighbors, signed "Fidelia." Her 'worthy banished friends in Virginia,' 1778, received a tribute, expressive of her sympathy with them. In April, 1777, a poem against Paine's *Crisis* was added, in which she calls him a 'fibber for sake of lucre,' and says that 'if Howe will encrease the pension or Congress stand neuter, the poor creature must expire.' Her grief for England was seen in an epitaph of March, 1783,

> "Britannia sinks beneath her clefted wave,
> Lost—to her former dignity and fame—."

Yet she stood up for the rights of the colonists, for during the excitement caused by the tax on tea, she wrote to the ladies not to drink it, for freedom's sake,—

> "Let the proud nabobs storm and fret
> They cannnot force our lips to swallow."

[19] Her last poem to the closing year was in 1808.

The most interesting poem in the collection, thought by some to be the work of Jonathan Odell,[21] is an "Inscription on a curious Chamberstove in ye form of an urn, contrived in such a manner, as to make ye flame descend, instead of rising, invented by ye celebrated B. F.," dated November 2nd, 1776.

"Like a Newton, sublimely he soar'd,
To a summit before unattained,
New regions of science explor'd,
And the palm of philosophy gain'd;

With a spark that he caught from ye skies,
He displayed an unparalleled wonder,
And we saw, with delight and surprise
His Rod could defend us from thunder.

O, had he been wise to pursue
The Track for his Talent design'd,
What a tribute of Praise had been due,
To the Teacher and friend of mankind.

But to covet Political fame,
In Him was degrading ambition
A Spark, that from Lucifer came
And kindled the flame of sedition.

Let Candour, then, write on his urn,
'Here lyes, the renowned inventor;
Whose flame to ye skies ought to burn
But inverted, descends to the Center.'"

Her friend, Susanna Wright (1701–1789), was born in England, but brought to Philadelphia when a young girl. She devoted her life to study, and her poems show a wide knowledge of English literature. *On My Own Birthday* (August, 1761) gives some autobiographical information,—

[21] Prof. Smythe, in *Works* of Franklin, Vol. I, pp. 130–131, attributes this to Miss Griffiths.

her grief for the death of some young child, her loneliness after her sister's decease and her three-score years, passed happily in study and religious devotions. An elegy on Isaac Norris, her uncle, shows deep emotion. In Miss Griffiths's memorial to Miss Wright the latter is described as a woman of delicate feeling and tender piety. Excessive modesty restrained these women from publishing anything, but their poems are as worthy as many then in circulation.

The *Miscellanies* of John Ralling[22] (Philadelphia, 1790), dedicated to the members of Congress, contain only religious strains. Some lines from *The Honest Servant* show his inclination,

> "The weaver's shuttle swift doth fly,
> Man's time as swift for him to die,"

and for several pages the servant implores the Omnipotent to prepare him for this event. In the *Hymn on the Month of May* he called attention to the beauties of creation as a reason for demanding the worship of man. The affectionate father's dying advice is the veil behind which he preached these ideas to the politicians.

Ralling found a sympathizer in Richard Nesbit, whose *Source of Virtue*[23] discusses the vanity of the world, the weakness of philosophy, and the simplicity and power of religion. The author had come from the West Indies to Philadelphia, and was a clerk in a scrivener's office until mental troubles forced him to enter the Pennsylvania Hospital. While there he composed a monody on the *Death of Washington,* which for its language attracted attention. It was only thirty-five years before that Christopher Smart had, under somewhat similar circumstances, composed his *Song to David.*

[22] The edition of 1803 is marked as the third.
[23] *The Source of Virtue,* by R. Nesbit. St. Christopher's, 1790.

Another man who enjoyed meditating was John Searson,[24] an Irishman, and for twenty years a merchant in Philadelphia. He went back to Ireland and taught for fifteen years, and then[25] returned to America and secured for his poems an advance subscription list of one thousand names. The volume contains *Meditations* among the tombs, imitated from Hervey and done in heroic couplets, reproductions from Addison, acrostics, etc. Encouraged by this, he made a second effort on American subjects. *Mt. Vernon,* a romantic description in couplets, verses to Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington City, are combined with *Hymns to the Creator* and paraphrases on Job, in imitation of Thomson and Pope.[26]

John Swanwick said his works "demand no praise, having never been professedly written to obtain it, and they hope to escape censure, as trifles by which the cares of a busy life were diverted or assuaged."[27] He wrote no ambitious poems, but pleasant verses to 'Mrs. Bordeau with her young ladies school,' to Miss Chew who lost a bow of ribbon at the dance, etc. The return of the comedians to Philadelphia, November, 1790, called forth a sonnet; Franklin, Rittenhouse, and Hopkinson received elegies, Mrs. Penn a memorial, but no one a good line of poetry.

Swanwick was satirized in his day; in fact the satire came out one year before the volume, which suggests the fate of Wordsworth's *Peter Bell,* so ruthlessly ridiculed by Reynolds in his poem of a similar title, published a few months earlier.

[24] *Poems on Various Subjects,* John Searson, Philadelphia, 1797. *Poems* by John Searson, Philadelphia, 1799.

[25] In the second volume, in advertising for tutoring, he says: "The author teaches the beauties of the English language, with the latest accent and pronunciation."

[26] *The Age of Error,* a political essay on the course of human action, by a Philadelphian, Philadelphia, 1797, in heroic couplets, was as imitative of Pope as *The Monarchy,* an acknowledged parody. (Philadelphia, 1795.)

[27] Preface to the *Poems* of John Swanwick, Philadelphia, 1797.

Shelley called this the ante-natal Peter; Shelley's own parody remained in manuscript until 1839. "Geoffrey Touchstone," published in 1796, a pamphlet, *He Would be a Poet,* or *Nature will be Nature still.* The young hero with poetical ambition had mounted Pegasus, and, assisted by the Muses, had ridden worthily. Gratified with such immediate success, he wished to unite his mercantile interests with poetry, but the muses forbade. After misunderstandings and reconciliations, the latter are about to crown him, when an unexpected ship arrives and excites him so much that he "curses the muses, tears his hair and robes," orders the crown to be thrown into the river and swears to be himself.

> "In spite of crowns—I'll be a Merchant Poet,
> And keep in Congress—by my very soul,
> At least—(I'll try and stand) another poll.
> The De-o-c-t-c club I'll join once more,
> And be a greater devil than before,
> So here I vow! and will my oath maintain,
> That Johnny S—k is 'himself again.'"

This "Geoffrey Touchstone" was the author of the satiric pamphlet, *The House of Wisdom in a Bustle,* 1798. It is the story of the encounter between two Congressmen from Connecticut and Vermont, when words ceased and a cane and pair of fire tongs were pressed into service.

Swanwick was not alone in his poetic aspirations. Henry Pepper,[28] in *The Ascension,* wrote:

> "Dare high, my Muse! no trifle chuse!
> To lofty theme aspire!
> Th' attempt, tho' Phaet'on like you fall,
> Will glorious be; then rise up all
> My soul, and snatch celestial fire!"

[28] *Juvenile essays or a collection of poems, inscribed to my valued friend, Henry MacNeale Kennedy,* by Henry Pepper. Philadelphia, 1798.

In pursuing the subjects of peace, honor, and duty, he imitated Young's *Night Thoughts* and called his work *The Christian Friendship*. He was particularly fond of religious and meditative themes; *The Happy Aera* refers to the birth of Christ, *Solicitude,* to the peace and sweetness of seclusion.

The political drama and monologue took on fresh life near the end of the century. John Murdock, a hair dresser of Walnut street,[29] satirized the general ignorance of the people in *The Politicians* (Philadelphia, 1798), a drama of two acts. Mrs. Violent and Mrs. Turbulent dispute over the good qualities of Washington, while Dispassionate, Conciliate, Partial, Hasty, Sugar-Loaf and Sunny Biscuit praise or censure any suggested topic, showing by their generalities and hasty decisions total deficiency of judgment. His domestic comedy, *The Triumphs of Love,* in four acts, is based on intrigues, wherein the families of Friendly and Peevish, after many separations and misunderstandings, become united, because of 'virtuous love, which has its own triumph.' This was presented for a few nights at the New Theatre in Philadelphia in 1795 and 1796. The managers refused to continue it, and the author thought they were trampling on native productions and substituting foreign ones of less value. To convince the public of his opinion, in the preface to a play,[30] *The Beau Metamorphosed,* designed as an after-piece but rejected by the players, he told of his harsh treatment and published in confirmation some newspaper clippings.

Similar lack of appreciation was felt by Peter Markoe (1753–1792), a native of the West Indies, a pupil of Trinity College, Dublin, and a student of law in London. After coming to Philadelphia, he devoted himself to writing, under

[29] See the title page in the old copy of *The Triumphs of Love,* Philadelphia, 1795, owned by the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[30] *The Beau Metamorphosed* in *The Generous Maid,* two acts, Philadelphia, 1800.

the name of "A Native of Algiers." In a preface the author is "conscious that this volume if it will not procure me reputation as a writer, cannot injure my Moral character." Selah! Before attempting dramas he wrote odes to Faith,[31] Hope, Charity, and made translations from the French and imitations from the German. This appreciation of German literature was very early. Yet other Philadelphians were interested in the subject. David Rittenhouse (1732–1796), a scientist of note, translated and published in 1789 Lessing's drama, *Miss Sara Sampson;* he also made over some of the idyls of Gesner, whose *Death of Abel* was printed in English in 1762 and 1770, and in German in 1776, in Philadelphia.[32]

Markoe's satiric bent is evidenced in *The Times,*

> "Hail happy Times, when speculators weep,
> And, undisturb'd, inactive lawyers sleep!
> Hail happy Times, when from th' unbolted door,
> The villain turns and swears to sin no more!"

It differs from the usual 'review of the times' in not being meditative, and only at the close does he pray for simplicity. *The Reconciliation,* or *The Triumph of Nature,* a comic opera, was "withdrawn from the managers of the theatre, after it had remained in their hands more than four months."[33] This was modelled upon Gesner's one-act play, *Erastus,* to which Markoe added one new character, introduced songs and remodelled the dialogue, "as to be rendered (it is presumed) pleasing to an American ear." It is the story of Simon, a servant, stealing money from an old traveller, to buy food for his master's starving family.

[31] *Miscellaneous Poems,* Peter Markoe, Philadelphia, 1787.

[32] Klopstock's *Messias* was published in Philadelphia in 1788 and 1795; Goethe's *Sorrows of Werther* in 1784.

[33] Preface to *The Reconciliation,* two acts, Philadelphia, 1790.

After the master has rebuked the servant, although he is heartily glad to see the food, the master and the servant go to find the traveller, who proves to be the master's father. United relatives triumph over supposed knavery and the drama ends with a happy reconciliation.

The Patriot Chief[34] is more involved. It is an eastern story, hinging on love, jealousy, treachery and deceit. King Adrastus had spent his life in defending Sardis against the Persians, but in old age his warriors esteemed him because he was the father of a beautiful daughter, Ismene. Native and captive noblemen loved her, all battles were fought and campaigns planned for her possession. Dorus, an officer, true to the King, had wished her to wed his son, Olinthus, for whom she did not care. She loved a captive, Araspes,

> " For thee I can renounce
> My father's roof, my mother's lov'd embrace,
> For thee renounce the gay parade of courts,
> And all the gaudy joys which poorly please
> My vainer sex . . .
> At early dawn I'll chide the feather'd choir,
> That wake my love, smile with the cheerful morn,
> Kneel to the Gods, and thank them . . . for Araspes."[35]

Otanes, a warrior turned traitor, became the patron of Araspes, an ally of the Persians and a leader of the attack against the King. The latter, the traitor and Olinthus were killed. Dorus, the true nobleman and Araspes survived the battle, although with difficulty the latter escaped the demands of the people. When Dorus realized the love of Ismene for Araspes and the utter helplessness of the situation, the old man adopted the captive, calmed the crowd and saw them united. Throughout it is highly sensational.

[34] *The Patriot Chief*, Philadelphia, 1784, 1788.
[35] *Ibid.*, act 5, scene 4.

It was about this time that another young man, John Blair Linn, from Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, had his play, *Bourville Castle,* performed at the John Street Theatre, New York, January, 1797, by the Hodgkinson and Henry Company. During Linn's attendance at Columbia College, from which he was graduated in 1794, his chief interest was in the theatrical performances in the city. Although this play was given only three times, *The Minerva,* on January 18th, said of it: "It is the tale of injured innocence and murdered greatness, and told with great beauty, affecting simplicity, nay, often with uncommon pathos. Upon the whole, though it would be "outstepping the modesty of nature," to call *Bourville Castle* a production equal to Shakespeare's, yet it is but the just tribute of merit to say that, considering the author's years, it is a masterly dramatic composition; and contains every requisite, both as to sentiment as well as to music and scenery, to excite the feeling approbation of an audience.." [37]

But Linn had religious convictions; he studied theology and became, with Dr. Ewing, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.[38] It was to this last named gentleman that Dr. Johnson spoke of the Americans as ignorant scoundrels and rebels, and became so surprised when he was told they knew *The Rambler* that he continued the conversation until midnight.[39] Notwithstanding the fact that Linn ceased dramatic composition, he wrote poems. *The Death of Washington* was in imitation of the style of Ossian, whom Linn regarded more highly than any other writer. In eulogizing Washington, the poet said:[40] "Fingal was the youngest among the warriors . . . but his words

[37] Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature,* Vol. I, p. 652.

[38] *Life of J. B. Linn,* by C. B. Brown in preface to *Valerian,* Philadelphia, 1805.

[39] See *Memoirs of Dr. J. E. Ewing,* by Professor Patterson in *The Philosophical Lectures,* Philadelphia, 1809.

[40] *The Death of Washington,* p. 11, Philadelphia, 1800.

were the wisest. He shone before all in the smiles of his youth, and in the stature of his strength . . . like the tree which towers first in the forest . . . like the star, which leads on the wandering train of the night and follows the brightest path in the heavens."

The Powers of Genius,[41] in heroic couplets, treats of the progress of genius, the alliance between genius and fancy, judgment and sympathy, and the independence from rule of such poets as Shakespeare, Ossian, Ariosto, and Burns. Without acknowledgment he said:

> "Genius finds speech in trees; the running brook,
> To her speaks language, like a favorite book."

He does not say he is quoting, but he refers to Gray along with Virgil, Petrarch and Cowper as "excelling in subjects of the most soft and pleasing kind,"

> "See pensive Gray awake the Theban lyre;
> And soar to heights where Pindar would expire;
> When tolls the curfew the departing day,
> 'And lowing herds wind slowly o'er the lea,'
> Mark how, in thoughtful mood, he takes his way,
> Thro' the lone church-yard to his favorite tree." [42]

Dr. Priestley in 1802 published a treatise on the comparative merits of Jesus Christ and Socrates, taking the former as human with only moral qualities. In reply, Linn wrote two articles to the great satisfaction of his friends in the church. Perhaps this caused the University of Pennsylvania to grant him the degree of Doctor of Divinity when he was only twenty-four years old.

He left the fragment of a narrative poem, *Valerian,* which he had designed for an epic. It is descriptive of the

[41] *The Powers of Genius,* three parts; Philadelphia, 1801, 1802; London, 1804, p. 94.

[42] *Ibid,* p. 66.

early persecutions of Christians and their influence on the nations, and except in the night songs of Valerian and Azora, is in blank verse. The scene was laid in Montalvia on the borders of the Caspian Sea. An old wanderer found a shipwrecked youth, Valerian, who asked for a description of these pastoral lands. In the second part, the hero told of his persecutions in Rome, his contest with the lion, his escape from prison, his voyage over the sea with a party of Christians, of whom he alone is saved from the wreck. In the third part Linn showed the influence of the hero upon these heathen people. Linn connects us with the new period by his brother-in-law and biographer, Charles Brockden Brown, who at this time was coming into notice. *The Weekly Magazine of Original Essays, Fugitive Pieces and Interesting Intelligence* had for its first article (February 3d, 1798) *The Man at Home,* by Brown. It ran through thirteen numbers, and was followed by *Arthur Mervyn,* or *Memoirs of the Year, 1793,* but the death of the editor, James Watters, ended the magazine, although a revival was attempted.

Now with the new century there came a new group of men, Dennie, Hall, etc., who by *The Portfolio,* attracted the attention of visitors from all parts of the country and drew to the city men who were eager to do literary work. Thus they gained for Philadelphia the leadership in American letters for the time. This they could not have done but for the work of the previous century. Although the world knows of no masterpiece written during these years, yet the patient endeavors of men and women seeking for culture must bear a reward. Penn encouraged them in independent thinking, free schools and press; Franklin combined many of the best qualities of manhood and learning; the Revolution gave them national confidence, and then they were ready to make bold strides forward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is intended to be a complete list of the books, pamphlets and periodicals used in the present study, but necessarily only a fraction of those examined. In the case of extremely long titles only the more distinguishing part is given. The date is not always of the first edition, but of the volume used by the author. The initials H. S. P. are for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; L. C. P., the Library Company of Philadelphia, and N. Y. H. S., for the New York Historical Society.

Adams, John. Letters of, To His Wife. Two volumes. Boston, 1893.

Atkins, Samuel. (H. S. P.) Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense. Philadelphia, 1686.

Ames, Nathaniel. Essays from Almanacs, edited by Samuel Briggs. Cleveland, 1891.

Americana Germanica, edited by Prof. M. D. Learned. Four volumes. Philadelphia, 1897–1902.

American Chronicles of the Times (The). **(L. C. P.)** Philadelphia, 1774–1775.

American Museum (The). Eleven volumes. Philadelphia, 1787–1792.

Applegarth, A. C. Quakers in Pennsylvania. Baltimore, 1892.

Arbuthnot, John. The History of John Bull. London, 1892.

Bartram, John. Observations on the inhabitants, productions and other matters,—made in his travels from Pennsylvania to Canada. London, 1751; New York, 1895.

Bartram, John. (H. S. P.) Journal of 1765 (unpublished).

Bartram, Wm. Travels in North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida. Philadelphia, 1791; London, 1792.

Barton, Andrew. Disappointment. Two acts. New York, 1767.

Bates, Katherine Lee. History of American Literature. 1898.

Benezet, Anthony. Caution and Warning to Great Britain. Philadelphia, 1784.

Benezet, Anthony. Account of Africa. Third edition. London, 1768.

Benezet, Anthony. Quakers in America. Philadelphia, 1782.

Benezet, Anthony. Historical Account of Guinea. London, 1772.

Beveridge, John. Epistolæ Familiares. Philadelphia, 1765.

Bittinger, Lucy Forney. The Germans in Colonial Times. Philadelphia, 1901.

Bolles, Albert S. Pennsylvania Province and State from 1609–1790. Philadelphia, 1899.

Boucher, Jonathan. A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution. London, 1797.

Brackenridge, H. H. Modern Chivalry. Philadelphia, 1846.

Brackenridge, H. H. Gazette Publications. Carlisle, 1806.

Bowden, James. History of Society of Friends in America. Two volumes. London, 1854.

Bradford, A. S. (L. C. P.) American Weekly Mercury. 1719–42.

Bradford, Wm. (H. S. P.) The Pennsylvania Journal. 1742–93.

Bradford, Wm. On the Punishment of Death. Philadelphia, 1793.

Bruce, Philip. Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. Two volumes. New York, 1896.

Budd, Thomas. Good Order Established. Original copy in Lenox Library, N. Y. Philadelphia, 1865; Cleveland, 1902.

Carpenter, G. R. American Prose. New York, 1899.

Chalkley, Thomas. A Collection of the Works. London, 1751.

Clarkson, Y. Memoirs of the private and public life of Wm. Penn. Dover, N. H., 1827.

Clifton, Wm. Collected Poems. New York, 1800.

Conway, M. D. See **Paine, Thomas.**

Coombe, Thomas. Edwin, or The Emigrant. Philadelphia, 1775.

Coombe, Thomas. The Harmony between the Old and New Testaments. Philadelphia, 1774.

Coombe, Thomas. Continental Fast Sermon. Philadelphia, 1775.

Crèvecœur, J. Hector St. John. Letters from an American Farmer. Philadelphia, 1793; New York, 1904.

Darlington, Wm. Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall. Philadelphia, 1849.

Davis, John. Pursuits of Philadelphia Literature by Juvenal Junius of N. J. Philadelphia, 1805.

Dickenson, John. God's Protecting Providence. London, 1757.

Dickinson, John. Political Writings. Two volumes. Wilmington, 1801.

Dickinson, John. The Writings of, edited by P. L. Ford. Philadelphia, 1895.

Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee.

Duché, Jacob. Discourses on various subjects. Two volumes. London, 1779.

Duché, Jacob. American Vine, sermon. Philadelphia, 1775.

Duché, Jacob. Duty of standing fast in our spiritual and temporal liberties. Philadelphia, 1775.

Duché, Jacob. Observations on a Variety of Subjects. Philadelphia, 1774.

Dunlap, Wm. History of the American Theatre. New York, 1832.

Duyckinck, E. A. and G. L. Cyclopœdia of American Literature. Third edition. Philadelphia, 1875.

Edwards, Morgan. Materials for a history of the Baptists in Rhode Island. V. 6 in Rhode Island Historical Society Publications, 1867.

Edwards, Morgan. Materials toward a history of the Baptists in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1770.

Eggleston, Edward. Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century. New York, 1897.

Ellis, G. E. Life of Wm. Penn, in Library of American Biography, v. 22. 1834–56.

Evans, Nathaniel. Poems on Several Occasions. Published by Dr. Smith. Philadelphia, 1772.

—— Fall of British Tyranny (The). Philadelphia, 1776.

Fisher, J. F. Early Pennsylvania Poets, in The Historical Society Publications. Volume 2^2. Philadelphia, 1830.

Fisher, S. G. Pennsylvania Colony and Commonwealth. Philadelphia, 1897.

Fisher, S. G. Men, Women and Manners in Colonial Times. Philadelphia, 1898.

Fisher, S. G. The Making of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1898.

Fisher, S. G. Fall of British Tyranny (The). Philadelphia, 1776.

Ferguson, Elizabeth Graeme. (L. C. P.) Translation of Fénelon's Les Aventures de Télémaque (unpublished).

Ferguson, Elizabeth Graeme. (L. C. P.) Unpublished letters and poems.

Fiske, John. Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America. New York, 1899.

Ford, P. L. Franklin Bibliography.

Franklin, Benjamin. The Life, by himself, edited by John Bigelow. Three volumes. Philadelphia, 1874.

Franklin, Benjamin. The Complete works of, edited by John Bigelow. Ten volumes. New York, 1887–1888.

Franklin, Benjamin. The Works of, edited by Jared Sparks. Ten volumes. Boston, 1836–40.

Franklin, Benjamin. Memoirs of the Life and Writings. Three volumes. Edited by Temple Franklin. London, 1818.

Forrest, Michael. Travels Through America, poem. Philadelphia, 1793.

French, David. Poems, in J. Parke's Horace. Philadelphia, 1786.

Galloway, Joseph. Examination of J. G. before the House of Commons. London, 1780.

Galloway, Joseph. Cool thoughts on the consequences to Great Britain of American Independence . . . London, 1780.

Galloway, Joseph. Account of Conduct of War in middle colonies. London, 1780.

Galloway, Joseph. Candid Examination of mutual claims of Gt. Britain and the Colonies. New York, 1775; 1780.

Galloway, Joseph. Letters from Cicero to Catiline, the second. London, 1781.

Galloway, Joseph. Historical and political reflections on rise and progress of American rebellion. London, 1780.

Galloway, Joseph. Letter to Right Hon. Lord Vis. Howe on Naval conditions in American war. London, 1781.

Galloway, Joseph. Letters to a nobleman on conduct of war in middle colonies. London, 1779 and 1781.

Gilpin, T. Exiles in Virginia. Philadelphia, 1848.

Godfrey, Thomas. Juvenile Poems, 1765. Philadelphia.

Gowans, Wm. Bibliotheca Americana. New York, 1845.

Griswold, R. W. Female Poets of America. 1848.

Griswold, R. W. Prose Writers of America, 1847.

Griswold, R. W. The Poets and Poetry of America, 1842.

Gymnast, Christopher. The Paxtoniade, a poem. Philadelphia, 1764.

Hale, Edward E. Franklin in France. Two volumes. Boston, 1888.

Harshberger, J. G. Botanists of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1899.

Hildeburn, C. R. The issues of the Pennsylvania press of 1685–1784. Two volumes. Philadelphia, 1885–6.

Hildeburn, C. R. Francis Hopkinson in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, v. 2, pp. 314–324.

Hopkinson, Francis. Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings. Philadelphia, 1792. Three volumes.

Hopkinson, Francis. New England Magazine, article by A. R. Marble, v. 27, pp. 289–302. Boston, 1902.

Hopkinson, Francis. Old Farm and New Farm. Philadelphia, 1774; second edition, New York, 1864.

Hunt, Isaac (?). The Birth, Parentage and Education of Praise-God Barebones, with An Election Ballad. Philadelphia, 1766.

Hunt, Isaac. The Political Family. Philadelphia, 1775.

Hudson, Frederic. Journalism in United States from 1690–1872. New York, 1873.

Janney, S. M. Life of Wm. Penn. Sixth edition. Philadelphia, 1882.

Keasbey, Anthony Q. The Bi-Centennial of the Purchase of East New Jersey by the Proprietors, in N. J. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, v. 7, 1883.

Keimer, Samuel. Caribbeana. London, 1741.

Keimer, Samuel. Elegy to Aquila Rose. Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, v. 2, p. 262.

Keimer, Samuel. (H. S. P.) Universal Instructor, 1728.

Keith, George. Journal of travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck. London, 1706.

Keith, George. Standard of Quakers in Janney's History of Friends. Philadelphia, 1867.

Keith, George. Character of Jesus Christ. London, 1785.

Kettel, S. Specimens of American Poetry. Three volumes. Boston, 1829.

Knapp, Samuel L. Lectures on American Literature. New York, 1829.

Learned, M. D. The Literary Work of Pastorius, Americana Germanica, v. 1, 1897; v. 2, 1898–9.

Leeds, Daniel. Almanacs. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1687.

Leonard, Daniel. Massachusettensis. London, 1776.

Levick, Jas. J. Friends and their Services in America. Philadelphia, 1883.

(L. C. P.) Liberty—a poem in imitation of Churchill. Philadelphia, 1769.

Linn, John Blair. Death of Washington, poem. Philadelphia, 1800.

Linn, John Blair. Powers of Genius. Three parts, 1801. Philadelphia. Second edition, 1802.

Linn, John Blair. Valerian, with Life by C. B. Brown.

Logan, James. Translation of Cicero's de Senectute. Philadelphia, 1744.

Logan, James. Penn and Logan Correspondence, in Pennsylvania Historical Society Publications, volume 10, 1872.

Logan, James. The Antidote (Philadelphia, 1725). A memorial for J. L. Philadelphia, 1725.

Logan, James. A Dialogue. Philadelphia, 1725.

Logan, James. Cato's Moral Distichs. Philadelphia, 1735.

(The) General Magazine and Historical Chronicle. Philadelphia, 1741.

McMaster, John Bach. Benjamin Franklin. Boston, 1896.

Markoe, Peter. Miscellaneous Poems. Philadelphia, 1787.

Markoe, Peter. The Times. 1788.

Markoe, Peter. The Patriot Chief. Philadelphia, 1788.

Markoe, Peter. The Reconciliation, a comic opera. Philadelphia, 1790.

Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Fourteen volumes. 1826–1895.

Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1682–90, v. 1 and v. 2.

Myers, A. C. Immigration of Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682–1750. Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1902.

New Jersey. The Journal of the Procedure of the Governor and Council of the Province of E. N. Jersey, 1682–1701. Jersey City, 1872.

Onderdonk, J. L. History of American Verse. Chicago, 1901.

Osgood, Herbert L. The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century. Two volumes. New York, 1904.

Paine, Thomas. Complete Works. Four volumes, edited by **M. D.** Conway. New York, 1894.

Paine, Thomas. Life, by Wm. Cobbett, in Political Censor. September, 1796.

Paine, Thomas. Life, by M. D. Conway, Two volumes. New York, 1892.

Paine, Thomas. Life, by T. C. Rickman. London, 1819.

Paine, Thomas. Life, by J. A. Cheatham. New York, 1809.

Parke, John. 1750, Lyric Works of Horace. 1886, Philadelphia.

Pastorius, Daniel Francis. 1651–1683, Mustandige geographische Beschreiburg der aller letzterfundenen Provintz Pennsylvania (in Eng.). Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 1700.

Parton, James. The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin. Two volumes. Boston, 1892.

Patriot Preachers of the American Revolution, 1766–1783. New Providence, 1860.

Penn, Wm. Select Works. Five volumes. London, 1782. Third edition.

Pennypacker, S. W. Early Literature of the Pennsylvania Germans, in Pennsylvania-German Society Publications, volume 2. 1892.

Pennypacker, S. W. The Settlement of Germantown, in Pennsylvania-German Society Publications, volume 9. 1899.

Pennsylvania Register, edited by Samuel Hazard. Sixteen volumes. 1826–36.

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Twenty-seven volumes. 1877–1903.

Pennsylvania Historical Society Publications. 1831– .

Pennsylvania Journal, edited by Wm. Bradford, 1742–1793.

Pennsylvania Gazette, edited by B. Franklin. 1729–1751.

Philadelphiensis, Manners of the Times. Philadelphia, 1762.

Philadelphian, by a. The Age of Error, poetical essay on the Course of Human Action. Philadelphia, 1797.

Pepper, Henry. Juvenile Essays or Collection of poems. Philadelphia, 1798.

Pepper, Wm. Address on Benjamin Rush. Chicago, 1890.

Philadelphia, History of, by J. F. Scharf and T. Westcott. Three volumes. Philadelphia, 1884.

Proud, Robt. History of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1797–8.

Proud, Robt. Autobiography, Pennsylvania Magazine of History, Vol. 13. 1894.

Proud, Robt. Poems in the Historical Society Memoirs, v. 1.

Rallins, John. Miscellanies. Philadelphia, 1790; third edition, Philadelphia, 1803.

Ralph, James. The Case of Author by profession stated. London, 1758.

Ralph, James. Touchstone, Essay. London, 1728.

Ralph, James. Poems. London, 1728.

Ralph, James. Taste of the Town. London, 1731.

Ralph, James. Use and Abuse of Parliament. London, 1744.

Ralph, James. History of England during the Reigns of William III., Anne and George I. London, 1744–6. Two volumes.

The memoirs of Frederick, Prince of Wales, under the name of "Prince Titi," were found among Ralph's papers. They were surrendered to the crown and never published. Whether they were written by Ralph, or a version of Histoire du Prince Titi, A. R., Paris, 1736, by Thémiseul de St. Hyacinthe is not known.

Rose, Aquila. (H. S. P.) Poems, published by Joseph Rose. Philadelphia, 1740.

Rowlandson, Mrs. Mary. Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of. Boston, 1856.

Rush, Benjamin. Effects of public punishments, etc. Philadelphia, 1787.

Rush, Benjamin. Essays. Philadelphia, 1798.

Sabin, Joseph. Dictionary of works relating to America, from its discovery to the present time. New York, 1868–92. Twenty volumes.

Sabine, Lorenzo. Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution. Two volumes. Boston, 1864.

Sachse, Julius Friedrich. The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania. 1708–42. Philadelphia, 1899.

Saddi, Nathan Ben. (L. C. P.) Fragment of the Chronicles of; a Rabbi of the Jews, lately discovered in the Ruins of Herculaneum; translated from the Original into the Italian Language. By the Command of the King of the Two Sicilies and now first published in English, Constantinople (Philadelphia) in the year of the vulgar Aera, 5707. Printed by Jas. Chattin, 1758.

Scull, Nicholas. Kawanio Chekeeteru. Philadelphia, 1756.

Searson, John. Poems. Philadelphia, 1797.

Searson, John. Mt. Vernon, a poem, 1799.

Sears, Lorenzo. History of American Literature. Boston, 1902.

Seidensticker, Oswald. First Century of German printing in America. Philadelphia, 1893.

Seilhamer, G. O. History of the American Theatre. Philadelphia, 1888.

Sewel, Wm. History of the Quakers. London, 1811.

Sharpless, I. History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1898.

Smalridge, Geo. (N. Y. H. S.) The Art of Preaching in Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry. Philadelphia, 1762.

Smith, Capt. John. General History of Virginia. Oxford, 1612. London, 1624.

Smith, Wm. Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians, 1764. Cincinnati, 1867.

Smith, Wm. Discourses on Public Occasions in America. London, 1762.

Smith, H. W. Life and Correspondence of Rev. Wm. Smith by his great-grandson. Two volumes. 1879.

Smith, Wm. Works. Philadelphia, 1803. Two volumes.

Smith, Wm. Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania. London, Second edition, 1755; New York, 1865.

Smith, Wm. The Hermit. Eight essays in American Magazine. Philadelphia, 1757–8.

Smith, Wm. Moore. Poems, or The Floweret. Philadelphia, 1784.

Smyth, A. H. The Philadelphia Magazines and their Contributors, 1741–1850. Philadelphia, 1892.

Sprague, W. B. Annals of the American Pulpit. New York, 1856–59. Nine volumes.

Stansbury, Joseph. Loyal Verses, edited by Winthrop Sargent. Albany, 1860.

Stedman, E. C., and Hutchinson, E. M. Library of American Literature. Eleven volumes. 1888–90.

Stillé, C. J. Life of John Dickinson. Philadelphia, 1895.

Stork, Wm. Travels in Florida. Third edition. London, 1769.

Strachey, Wm. History of Travaile into Virginia Britannia from original manuscript. London, 1849.

Swanwick, John. Poems on Several Occasions by a Congressman from Pennsylvania, 1797.

Thomas, Gabriel. Historical and Geographical Account of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey (London, 1698). New York, 1848, edited by J. A. Brady.

Squabble,—A Pastoral Eclogue by Agricola. Philadelphia, 1764.

Taylor, Jacob. (H. S. P.) Almanacs.

Thomas, Martha. (H. S. P.) Elegies to her. Philadelphia, 1727. Reprinted 1837 by L. B. Bailey.

'Touchstone, Geoffrey.' 'He would be a Poet.' Philadelphia, 1796.

'Touchstone, Geoffrey.' The House of Wisdom in a Bustle, poem. Philadelphia, 1798.

Thomas, Isaiah. History of Printing in America with list of publications to 1776. Albany, New York, 1874.

Thomson, C. W. Life and Character of Robt. Proud, in Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs. Philadelphia, 1864. Volume 1.

Trent, W. P. History of American Literature. New York, 1903.

Trent, W. P., and Wells, B. W. Colonial Prose and Poetry. Three volumes. New York, 1901.

Tyler, Moses Coit. The Literary History of the American Revolution. Two volumes. New York, 1897.

Tyler, Moses Coit. A History of American Literature during the Colonial Time. Two volumes. 1878.

Tyson, J. R. Discourse on Colonial History, in Pennsylvania Historical Society Publications, Volume 4^2. Philadelphia, 1850.

Vaux, Robert. Memoirs of Anthony Benezet. Philadelphia, 1817.

Vaux, Robert. Memoirs of Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Saundiford. Philadelphia, 1815.

Wallace, J. W. Address on Wm. Bradford. Albany, 1863.

Wallace, J. W. An Old Philadelphian. Philadelphia, 1884.

Watson, John F. Notes of the Early History of Germantown. Register of Pennsylvania, 1828.

Weeden, William B. Economic and Social History of New England, 1620–1789. Two volumes. Cambridge, 1890.

Wendell, Barrett. Literary History of America. Boston, 1900.

Weems, M. L. Life of Wm. Penn. Philadelphia, 1822.

Wickersham, Jas. P. History of Education in Pennsylvania. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1886.

Williams, F. W. Pennsylvania Poets of the Provincial Period, in Pennsylvania Magazine of History, Volume 17, 1896.

Wharton, T. I. Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania, in Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1826.

Whitcomb, S. L. Chronological Outlines of American Literature. New York, 1894.

Whipple, E. P. History of American Literature. Boston, 1887.

White, Wm. Sermons. New York, 1801, 1804, 1823, 1824, 1828, 1829, 1831.

White, Wm. Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America from organization up to present day. Second edition. New York, 1836.

Whitehead, Wm. A. Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey. Seven volumes. 1880.

Wilkens, F. H. Early Influence of German Literature in America. Americana Germanica, Volume 3. 1899–1900.

Zeisberger, David. Diary, 1781–98. Cincinnati, 1888.

Zeisberger, David. Dictionary. Cambridge, 1881.

INDEX.

Adams, John, 110, 120, 127
Samuel, 115
Addison, Joseph, 33, 40
Age of Reason, The, 119
Aitkin, Robert, 54, 114
Alexander, Alexander, 52, 53
Almanacs, 8, 13, 54, 55, 65, 67
American Chronicles, The, 141
Instructor, The, 64
Magazine, The, 63, 80, 133, 141
Museum, The, 114, 144
Weekly Mercury, The, 26, 30, 36, 45, 46, 49, 52, 63
American Philosophical Society, The, 59
Ames, Nathaniel, 66
Anacreon, 50
Arbuthnot, John, 120
Assembly of Birds, The, 82, 83
Atkins, Samuel, 8

Bacon, Francis, 11, 33
Bachelor's Hall, 46–49
Bailey, Francis, 55
Baptists, 12, 15, 105
Bartram, John, 105–106
William, 145–8
Barrow, Robert, 15, 16
Battle of Bunker Hill, The, 131, 138–140
Battle of the Kegs, The, 119, 124
Beissel, Conrad, 54
Bell, Robert, 115
Belknap, Jeremy, 143
Benezet, Anthony, 104, 144, 145
Berkeley, Sir William, 6
Beveridge, John, 52, 53
Bigelow, John, 71, 74
Blacklock, Thomas, 52, 53
Bockett, Elias, 36
Boston Gazette, The, 27, 110
News Letter, The, 27
Boucher, Jonathan, 127, 129
Bourville Castle, 161
Brackenridge, Hugh Henry, 130–133, 138–141
Bradford, Andrew Sowle, 10, 26, 27, 28
William, 8, 10, 12, 31
William, Jr., 141
Breintnall, Joseph, 46, 57, 105
Brillon, Madame, 75
Brooke, Henry, 46, 49
Brown, Charles Brockden, 148, 163
Budd, Thomas, 8, 9, 11, 14
Burke, Edmund, 110
Burnet, Bishop, 6
Burns, Robert, 145, 162
Busy Body, 29, 46
Byllinge, Edward, 2
Byron, Lord George Gordon, 143

Candid Examination, 112
Carpenter, Samuel, 16
Carribbeana, 33
Carteret, Governor, 2
Caspipina, 128, 145
Case of Author, The, etc., 42
Cato, 43
Chalkley, Thomas, 5, 12, 13, 64
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 40, 83–84
Clarkson, Thomas, 104
Clifton, William, 149–152
Cobbett, William, 144
Coleman, William, 58
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 148

Collins, William, 81, 93, 95–96, 152
Collinson, Peter, 59, 69, 105
Columbian Magazine, 143
Common Sense, 115
Cool Thoughts, 107
Coombe, Thomas, 53, 129–130
Cooper, Miles, 127
Connecticut, 4, 8
Congreve, William, 91
Cotton, John, 11, 15
Court of Fancy, 82
Cowper, William, 106, 162
Crèvecœur, J. Hector St. John, 108, 148
Crisis, 116, 153

Daily Courant, The, 27
Dallas, A. J., 143
Davis, John, 45
William, 13
Daye, Stephen, 8
Declaration of Independence, The, 102, 110, 116
Defoe, Daniel, 9, 27, 30, 32, 34, 62
De Senectute, 44
Dickenson, Jonathan, 15, 16
Dickinson, John, 106–108, 109, 110, 111
Disenchantment, 91
Distichs, 43
Dodington, George Bubb, 41
Dommett, John, 51
Donne, John, 153
Dove, David James, 52
Dryden, John, 40, 82
Duché, Jacob, 100, 127–129, 133
Dulaney, Daniel, 114
Dunciad, The, 39
Dunlap, John, 55
William, 148

East Jersey, 2
Edict, The, 73–74
Edwards, Morgan, 105
Emigrant, The, 130
Ephemera, The, 75–76
Ephrata, 54, 128
Evans, Nathaniel, 53, 81, 92, 93–96, 98–99

Fabius, 111
Fall of British Tyranny, The, 136–138
Farmer's Letters, The, 108–110
Fashionable Lady, The, 41
Fénelon, 97, 100
Fenwicke, John, 2
Ferguson, Elizabeth Graeme, 92, 96–97, 98, 99, 100, 145, 153
Fielding, Henry, 41
Fisher, Joshua Francis, 101
Flower, Enoch, 6
Folly of Authors, The, 38
Fothergill, Dr., 97, 145
Fox, Charles James, 42
George, 1, 8
Frame, Richard, 10
Franklin, Benjamin, 29, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 47, 55, 59, 60–63, 64, 65–68, 72–76, 77, 78, 94, 107, 109, 111, 145
James, 62
William Temple, 70
French, David, 50
Freneau, Phillip, 122, 130, 145

Galloway, Joseph, 69, 107, 111–113
Gay, John, 39
"Geoffrey Touchstone," 157
George III, 97, 136
General Magazine, The, 50, 63
Gifford, William, 150
Godfrey, Thomas, 43, 57, 80
Thomas, Jr., 80, 81, 82–84, 85–91
Goldsmith, Oliver, 39, 130, 145

Good Order, 8
Grace, Robert, 49, 58
Gray, Thomas, 81, 84, 95, 96, 130
Griffiths, Hannah, 153–154
Guion, Madame, 27

Hamilton, Governor, 1
Harry, David, 47, 58
Helvetius, Madame, 75
Hermit, The, 133
Heywood, Thomas, 89
History of Connecticut, The, 4
England, 42, 112
Florida, 105, 106, 146
Maryland, 18
North Carolina, 128
New England, 18
New York, 18
Pennsylvania, 4, 10, 18, 105
United States, 110
Virginia, 18
Holme, John, 10
Hopkinson, Francis, 97
Francis, Jr., 119–124, 141
Horace, 95, 96
Hunt, Leigh, 94

Instructor, The, 32–33, 47

Jefferson, Thomas, 120
Jennings, Samuel, 12, 14
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 39, 64, 145, 161
Junto, The, 56

Kalm, Peter, 106
Keimer, Samuel, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 47, 49, 58, 63
Keith, George, 4, 6–9, 11–15, 103
Kelpius, John, 3, 23–25
Killen, William, 106

Lady's Magazine, The, 152
Larned, Marion D., 21
Laurens, John, 118
Laws, 4, 5
Lay, Benjamin, 103–104, 144
Lawrence, Abbott, 71
Leeds, Daniel, 11, 13
Leonard, Daniel, 114
Lessing, 159
Liberty and Property, 9
Linn, John Blair, 161–163
Lloyd, Governor Thomas, 20, 153
Logan, James, 7, 42–45, 59
Dr. William, 45
London Gazette, The, 28

McFingal, 115
MacKenzie, William, 45
McComb, John, 12
McMaster, Prof. John Bach, 61, 67
Makin, Thomas, 4, 7
Markoe, Peter, 158–160
Massachusetts, 4, 6, 8, 10, 23
Mather, Cotton, 4, 56, 62
Maugridge, William, 57
Maule, Thomas, 14
Meredith, Hugh, 32, 57
Milton, John, 33, 40, 93, 96, 132, 145
Modern Chivalry, 132
Modest Inquiry, A, 73
Murdoch, John, 158

Neal, John, 45
Nesbit, Richard, 155
New England Courant, The, 62
Night, 39
Norris, Isaac, 16
Norwood, Henry, 17

Observations, 106
Osborne, Charles, 37, 38
Ossian, 161
Ovid, 36, 44, 50
Paine, Thomas, 114–119

Parke, John, 50, 53
Parsons, William, 57
Pastorius, Francis Daniel, 3, 20, 21, 23, 103
Paterson, William, 9
Patriot Chief, The, 160
Patriots, The, 141
Penn, William, 1–5, 9, 20, 21, 45, 128
Pennington, Edward, 14
Pennypacker, Governor S. W., 20, 54, 55
Pennsylvania Gazette, The, 7, 32, 47, 51, 53, 63, 67, 108
Magazine, 114
Journal, 116, 141
Pilgrim, 19, 21, 23
Pepper, Henry, 157
Peters, Dr. Richard, 97
Samuel, 4
Philadelphia College, 68
Library, 58, 59
Theatre, 85, 158
Pilgrim's Progress, The, 62
Poor Richard, 65, 67
Poor Robin, 65
Pope, Alexander, 39, 40, 98, 132
Porcupine's Gazette, 144
Portfolio, The, 163
Potts, Stephens, 58
Powers of Genius, The, 162
Pretty Story, The, 119–120
Prince of Parthia, The, 85–91
Protector, The, 41
Proud, Robert, 4, 105
Publick Occurrences, 27
Pusey, Caleb, 12, 14

Quakers, 2, 3, 6, 11, 12, 13–15, 31, 104, 107
Quarles, Francis, 11

Ralling, John, 155
Ralph, James, 37–42
Rawle, Francis, 29, 33, 43
Reconciliation, 159–160
Reed, Joseph, 100
Remembrances, The, 41
Richardson, Samuel, 64
Rights of Man, The, 118
Rittenhouse, K., 10
David, 159
Rivington, James, 122
Rose, Aquila, 34, 35, 37
Joseph, 35
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 145
Rowlandson, Mrs. Mary, 15, 17
Ruddiman, Thomas, 52
Rush-Ridgway Library, The, 45
Dr. Benjamin, 143–144

Satterwaithe, William, 51
Saundiford, Ralph, 103
Saur, Christopher, 54
"Sawney," 39
Scull, Nicholas, 57
Seabury, Samuel, 108
Searson, John, 156
Sermons, 12–15, 64
Shakespeare, William, 33, 39, 40, 87–90
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 157
Siege of Quebec, The, 140–141
Sloane, Sir Hans, 43, 45, 106
Smart, Christopher, 155
Smith, Dr. William, 107, 127, 133–135
William Moore, 152
Smollett, Tobias George, 145
"Society of the Women of the Wilderness," 24
Solomon, John, 53
Song for American Freedom, 110
Southey, Robert, 148
Spectator, The, 33, 62
Spener, Phillip Jacob, 20
Stansbury, Joseph, 125–126

Steele, Richard, 34
Sterne, Laurence, 97, 145
Stevens, Henry, 71
Swanwick, John, 156, 157
Swift, Dean Jonathan, 39, 76

Taylor, Jacob, 26, 46, 49
Tempest, The, 40
Thomas, Gabriel, 16, 17, 18
Martha, 33
Thomson, James, 145
Touchstone, 38
Travels (Bartram's), 146
Trumbull, John, 154
Tyler, Moses Coit, 16, 45, 141

Universal Magazine, The, 51
United States Magazine, The, 131, 143

Valerian, 162–163
Vaughan, Benjamin, 69
Victory, 84

Waller, Edmund, 40
Walpole, Sir Robert, 40, 41
Ward, Nathaniel, 15
Warner, Isaiah, 29
Washington, General George, 55, 116, 129, 155, 161
Watson, Joseph, 37
Way to Wealth, The, 66, 67
Weekly Magazine, The, 163
Webb, George, 46, 47, 57
Westchester Farmer, The, 108
West Jersey, 2
White, Bishop William, 134–135
Whittier, John Greenleaf, 19, 21, 23
Williams, Roger, 15
Winthrop, John, 11
Wither, George, 11
Witherspoon, John, 122
Wits and Poets, The, 46
Wordsworth, William, 135, 147, 156
Wright, Susanna, 154, 155

Young, Edward, 38, 145, 158

Zeuma, 40

VITA.

The author was born on January 18, 1875, in London, Kentucky. She was prepared for college in the private schools of this village and in Science Hill, at Shelbyville, Kentucky. In 1898 she received the degree of A.B. from Ohio Wesleyan University; in 1900 the same institution granted her the degree of M.A. From 1900 to 1902 she was an instructor of English in Belhaven College, Jackson, Mississippi. From 1902 to 1905 she was a student in Columbia University, in the departments of English and Comparative Literature, under the instructorship of Professors Price, Trent, Neilson, G. R. Carpenter, Brewster, Fletcher, Spingarn and Chandler.